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Outward Bounty and Inward Baasskap

JEAN SINCLAIR — National President of the Black Sash

This address was given at the opening meeting of the Black Sash National Conference held in Cape Town on February 15th, 1971.

IN 1966, GENERAL SMUTS on his way back from the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, spoke in Ottawa as the guest of the Canadian Parliament. He said his advice was "keep your armour bright". When asked "Who is the enemy?" he replied "Do not ask me, perhaps it is ourselves."

These were indeed prophetic words and although General Smuts was not referring specifically to South Africa, he foresaw that great changes in the political status of many countries in the world community would take place and he warned that South Africa would not be unaffected by them.

What he did not anticipate, I feel sure, was that South Africa would go to such lengths to resist and defy changing world conditions.

South Africa has always believed in the inferiority of the Black man and in the inherent superiority of the White man, and has maintained the master-servant relationship. It was, however, only after 1948 that the Nationalist government entrenched this dogma and made it the cornerstone of its policy.

When the Nationalist Party won the General Election of 1948 it had an overall majority of five in the House of Assembly. This hold of power was so tenuous that the government lost no time in finding ways and means of strengthening its position. It immediately stopped the immigration scheme introduced by the previous administration; it swallowed the small Afrikaner Party lead by Mr. Havenga and brought South West Africa with eight parliamentary seats into the Union Parliament.

International criticism of South Africa began as early as 1946 and again the following year India tabled a resolution in the United Nations General Assembly condemning the treatment of South African Indians. This subject was placed on the Agenda regularly every year until it was superceded by one condemning apartheid.

As more African States gained their independence, the number of critics of South Africa increased, both in the United Nations and elsewhere. Her trusteeship of South West Africa was brought into question and in the years

to come a long and bitter campaign with regard to South Africa's mandate followed.

In 1960 Ethiopia and Liberia instituted an action against South Africa in the International Court of Justice for failing to carry out the terms of the mandate. After a protracted case the International Court did not pronounce on South Africa's obligations with regard to the mandate, but the Court found that in terms of the Covenant of the League of Nations individual member states had no power to institute actions in the International Court of Justice with regard to the administration of the mandate.

This judgement did not satisfy many member states of the United Nations and South Africa's apartheid policy and her administration of South West Africa have been constantly attacked in the United Nations from 1947 until the present time when South Africa once more stands accused before the International Court of Justice. South Africa now rouses such intense emotional feeling wherever she or her policy is discussed, in the words of André Brink "it runs like a sewer through the conscience of the world".

Because of the inhumanity and the injustice of apartheid; because of the refusal to accept a Black South African as an equal; because of the denial of opportunity; of basic human rights; of justice; South Africa has suffered trade boycotts, an embargo on the sale of

arms, denial of flying rights over certain territories, expulsion from world bodies and ostracism from international sport. Terrorist incursions into South West Africa have occurred and the threat of guerilla invasion from the north is ever present.

Despite this volume of antagonism, South Africa is not prepared to deviate one jot from her chosen path, with the result that the country has become more and more isolated. This was and is, a matter of great concern. Ways and means have had to be found of improving South Africa's image. The government enlarged its Department of Information and spent large sums of money in circulating carefully selected information. The South Africa Foundation, a body of businessmen, opened offices in many parts of Europe and America, disseminated information and, inter alia, invited to visit South Africa, men from whom a favourable report might be expected.

Radio South Africa expanded and increased its foreign broadcasts. Trade missions were established in European and American cities. Faced with an embargo on the export of arms to South Africa, the government decided to strengthen the armed forces and to expand the manufacture of weapons inside South Africa. Nine months compulsory military training for all White youths was introduced. The defence budget was greatly increased. This defence spending undoubtedly gave a boost to industrial expansion and development.

Nevertheless, despite the improvement in the economic position of the country the political attacks on South Africa continue and intensify, and her state of isolation remains. In this modern and dangerous world no country "is an island entire of itself". It cannot build a sound economy without the free interchange of trade and it cannot prosper in an atmosphere of hatred.

After South Africa's exit from the Commonwealth, the attainment of independence by African States, the break up of the Rhodesian Federation and the subsequent declaration of independence by Rhodesia, Dr. Verwoerd realised the need for making friends and influencing people. He therefore in 1965 laid the foundations for South Africa's Outward Policy. With the approaching independence of the Protectorates, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, Dr. Verwoerd made approaches to these countries with a view to co-operation after they became independent.

In that year, Dr. Hilgard Muller, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, told Parliament that "It is the government's earnest desire to continue, now as well as in the future when they (the Protectorates) become sovereign states, to live in peace and friendship on a basis of good neighbourliness with those three territories" . . .² "I believe that the time has come when all territories in Southern Africa will co-operate in all matters of common interest with a view to tackling their common problems and solving them in the interests of all the inhabitants of each particular territory".¹

Again a few weeks later he said "I also believe that it is possible for the Republic to maintain its position in Africa without any necessity for us to sacrifice our principles".

South Africa therefore proceeded to give Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland aid in the form of technical assistance, financial loans, advice in the field of agriculture, in industry, in the development of electricity projects and the conservation of water. She undertook to buy goods from these territories, agricultural products, electricity and water.

South Africa gives employment to the surplus labour from these territories mainly in mining and to a lesser degree in commerce and industry. A customs agreement was signed in 1969 between these three territories and South Africa.

To Malawi too the "good neighbourly" policy was extended. Technical aid with long term loans at low interest rates have been given. In 1966 South Africa financed the building of a R6 million sugar mill which was built by South African engineers. Another loan of R8 million was made to help finance the building of the new capital at Lilongwe and an R11 million loan is to extend a railway line to the Portuguese Border. In return Dr. Banda agreed to employ South African contractors and to buy material from South Africa should there be a necessity to import it.⁴

South Africa has signed a trade agreement with Malawi and formal diplomatic relations were established in 1967.

Much voluntary aid has also been given to Malawi. South Africa is doing a great deal of work in the medical field. Teams of South African medical students have visited Malawi from time to time. Dr. J. M. McGregor, a neurologist who has been in Malawi under the

auspices of the Medical-Mission-to-Malawi scheme pointed out that South Africa is providing medical staff to fill interim needs at various Malawian hospitals. Assistance too, has been given in the techniques of business management.⁵

South Africa has also opened trade links with several Latin American States. The South African Reserve Bank was allowed to purchase bonds to the value of R2 million from an offer by the Inter-American Development Bank.

This gave the green light to South African contractors and exporters to participate on a cash basis, in schemes financed by the Bank. South African contractors have been awarded substantial contracts on several projects.

In 1967 South Africa made R25 million available to back credit to certain countries in South America and elsewhere. A direct air link with America via Rio-de-Janeiro has been introduced. Accredited representation has been established in five countries and there are Consuls and Honorary Consuls in several others.

More recently an economic agreement with Madagascar has been signed, and according to *The Star* the immediate profit is political and strategic.⁶ Nevertheless South Africa has promised to assist the Malagasy tourist trade and other projects are under consideration.

Dialogue

The President of the Ivory Coast, Dr. Houphouët-Boigny has advocated dialogue with South Africa and other of the Franco-phone states have supported this suggestion. Ghana too is in favour of dialogue. South Africa has proclaimed the suggestion as a major breakthrough — as an indication that at last reason is prevailing, at last the premise of “no interference in the domestic affairs of other countries” has been recognised. However, later statements from President Houphouët-Boigny have been distinctly muted as opposition to his proposal has become more vocal.

Dialogue obviously is a better method of solving problems than is coercion, but there must be a willingness to compromise on both sides. It is South Africa basically who is at fault for the political impasse which has resulted between herself and the majority of African States as well as most other countries of the world. She has been unwilling to withdraw one iota from her policy of racial dis-

crimination. If this dialogue is to result in agreement S.A. will have to abandon her policies of racial discrimination.

While South Africa's Outward policy, which was forced upon her by economic necessity, is commendable for the assistance it gives to developing countries, it contrasts dramatically with the inward policy of Separate Development and Apartheid at home.

Let us go back to 1961 when Dr. Verwoerd, the then Prime Minister made an announcement in Parliament. It was the year after Sharpsville when pressures and opposition from abroad were mounting to serious proportions.

Dr. Verwoerd said to Parliament “...we again unequivocally state the policy of the development of the different race groups. The Bantu will be able to develop into separate Bantu states. That is not what we would have liked to see. It is a form of fragmentation which we would not have liked if we were able to avoid it. In the light of the pressure being exerted on South Africa there is however no doubt that eventually this will have to be done, **THEREBY BUYING FOR THE WHITE MAN HIS FREEDOM AND THE RIGHT TO RETAIN DOMINATION IN WHAT IS HIS COUNTRY**, settled for him by his forefathers.”⁷

In the light of this statement one can be forgiven for coming to the conclusion that the whole homelands policy was devised not so much with the intention of creating viable independent states, but as a sop to critics abroad who abhor the apartheid policy.

Two years after this announcement by Dr. Verwoerd the Transkei, hastily, was given partial independence. Other Territorial Authorities were established in the intervening years and in September, 1970, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development told Parliament that over the past two years he “had already formed eight homeland governments with their own legislative assemblies, with their own executive committees, or call them Cabinets, and with their own government departments in those particular homelands where previously there were only territorial authorities with quite limited powers and function.”⁸

Quite limited powers and functions are the operative words.

The Republic has become a Colonial power within the borders of South Africa. This is interesting and is another manifestation of the cynicism of separate development. One

has only to remember the Nationalist loathing in the past for what was considered to be British Colonialism in the Union of South Africa.

Apart from the Transkei no other territorial Authority is a geographical entity, which really makes nonsense of the assumption that homelands are separate states. What are the facts of the development of the Transkei? Consider the progress which has taken place there. It is the government's showpiece and is intended to demonstrate its sincerity in executing its policy. What is the overall picture of the Transkei?

It has a Prime Minister, a Cabinet and Parliament consisting of a legislative assembly consisting of 64 ex-officio chiefs and 45 members elected by popular vote. The number of Xhosa-speaking people who are all deemed to be citizens of the Transkei is estimated at 3,907,000.⁹ (Many of these, however, are people who either left the Transkei years ago or have never been there and are Africans settled in the White areas of the Republic). In 1968 the Transkeian Department of the Interior estimated that the male population of the Transkei was 700,000. Of these:

- 240,000 were under working age;
- 105,000 were aged or unfit;
- 105,000 were permanently on the land;
- 250,000 constituted the labour force.¹⁰

Of the 250,000 of the labour force 41,626 were employed in the Transkei, 15,693 of them in the government service. 155,400¹¹ were away temporarily as migratory workers on contract in the Republic.

In the fields of Secondary and Tertiary development only 7,000 workers found employment in 1968. In 1969 four White industrialists applied for permission to establish industries on an agency basis in the Transkei.

The following industries are controlled by Africans in the Transkei:

A cane factory in Umtata; six brickworks; in Butterworth there is a maize roller mill employing 24 Africans; a sweet factory; a sheet metal works; a mechanical workshop at Umtata; a bottling undertaking; the *Vulindlela furniture factory*; the *Helmond hand-spinning and weaving factory* employing 207 people. At Sada, Whittlesea, a brick making concern.

According to the Minister \pm 945 Africans were employed in these industries on February 20th, 1968.

In addition there are 209 trading posts administered by the Xhosa Development Corporation. Some of them are managed by Africans and five of them are training centres for Africans.¹²

There has been an improvement in agriculture and Forestry, but the Transkei cannot yet grow enough to support its own population. The Border industries which provide employment for the Transkei and the Ciskei are situated in the East London, King Williams Town and Queenstown areas and employ (in 1969) 8,000 Africans.

From the above it can be seen that the development is totally inadequate. The poverty of Transkeian citizens is acute. The average earnings are R135 per worker per annum and a large number of economically active men are unemployed.

Loan to Malawi

The government has lent R25 million for three projects in Malawi. Why has it not granted loans in the homelands to allow private enterprises to tender for contracts? A railway, more roads and a power station would certainly assist the infrastructure which is necessary for the more rapid development of the homelands. If South African contractors and engineers have the blessing of the South African government to undertake contracts in Malawi, why are the same concessions not made available to contractors to undertake capital works in our homelands?

Another added embarrassment in the homelands are the \pm 69 Resettlement villages which have been established. They are for the resettlement of Africans who are "no longer fit for work" or for Africans superfluous in the labour market. Those to be resettled are classified as follows:—

- (i) the aged, unfit, widows, women with dependent children who do not qualify to remain in the urban areas;
- (ii) Africans on farms who become redundant;
- (iii) Professional men such as doctors, attorneys, agents, traders, industrialists, etc. persons who are not regarded as essential for the European Labour Market.

There are four categories of resettlement villages:

- (i) Self contained Bantu towns in the homelands where there are complete

services situated near the border areas where the people can serve border area industries;

- (ii) Towns in the homelands with rudimentary services and housing;
- (iii) $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ acre lots with rudimentary layout. A Prerequisite is a common source of water within walking distance.
- (iv) Other rudimentary settlements with a common source of water in accordance with a system of controlled squatting.¹³

The latter two types of village are for squatters and those removed from Black Spots. No housing is provided and the inhabitants have to erect their own dwellings and built their own "pit latrines". They are often situated in isolated areas where there are few, if any employment opportunities.

The people removed from Black Spots were previously subsistence farmers. They grew their own mealies and kept cattle and goats. No livestock, with the exception of hens may be taken to the resettlement villages.

There has been much publicity and much protest about these settlements and the conditions which obtain there. It is common knowledge that the people who have been resettled suffer from poverty, malnutrition and the diseases which flow from hunger — TB, Kwashiorkor and Pellagra.

These resettlement villages have not assisted in the development of the homelands. They have aggravated the poverty and the unemployment and they accommodate thousands of people, members of disrupted families, widows, children and old people.

Inadequate Development

The reasons for the half hearted development of the homelands are not difficult to find. The statement made by Dr. Verwoerd in 1961 as mentioned above, gives an indication of the unenthusiastic attitude to the Bantustan concept. Another statement made by him in 1953 during a debate on Bantu Education gives a clue to his attitude on the purpose of African education. He said "that Bantu Education must be controlled in conformity with the policy of the State. Good racial relations could not exist when education was given under the control of people who created wrong expectations among the Bantu. Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life. In terms of the governments' plan for South Africa, there was

no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within their own areas, however all doors were open. Education should, thus, stand with both feet in the Reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of a Bantu society".

The government's policy is to foster tribal culture and customs so that the African may continue to live according to "his traditional way of life". It is this premise which is inhibiting development in the homelands. As Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert indicates in his article *Modernization of Apartheid: the fostering of cultural identity and diversity is not compatible with the development of modern political systems and modern industrial development.*

It is unrealistic to assume that Africans will retain their own mores and culture while at the same time being exposed to modern industrial development and sophisticated political systems. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why development of the homelands has been so inadequate and perhaps it is intentional.

The employment in the factories of the Republic itself is surely the best possible training ground to teach Africans the skills which are necessary for the development of the homelands. The determination of the government to keep the African working in the White areas as a hewer of wood and a drawer of water certainly leads one to doubt the government's sincerity on the question of meaningful development in the homelands.

Job reservation e.g. the prohibition of Black and Brown bus drivers on Johannesburg's buses; the blank refusal to allow Africans to perform skilled work; the restriction on their belonging to trade unions; the recent threat to apply job reservation to African white collar workers, all successfully keep Africans as unskilled workers.

These are some examples of the intention that African education should have "its roots in the spirit and being of a Bantu Society".

The incident of the mines in the homelands is fresh in our memories. In the homelands, it was stated, there was no limit to African advancement; but when it comes to mines and platinum mines at that the story is very different. How can we regard this most cynical and revealing argument as to whether White miners would train Black miners in mining skills in their homelands? Between the govern-

ment and the Mine Workers Union we witnessed one of the most despicable episodes in the history of separate development. To train African mine workers or not to train them, that is the question. It is happenings such as this which confirm our doubts about the credibility of the government's Separate Development policy.

Then we have the 10,000 to 12,000 Zulus who are farming profitably in the Richard's Bay area in the Zulu homeland. Because Richards Bay is a growth point what do we find? The greedy Whites want it for themselves and insist on moving these Zulus to somewhere where they do not want to go.

In September, 1970, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, in answer to a question, admitted that 120 mining and prospecting leases in the Bantustans were granted to Whites and not one was granted to an African. How do these incidents measure up to Dr. Verwoerd's statement "within their own areas, however, all doors are open"?

It is most inconsistent to provide technical assistance and technicians for the development of neighbouring states and to put restrictions on assistance which may be given in South Africa's own homelands; to encourage private contractors to go to foreign parts and to allow them to establish industries only on an agency basis here; in addition to make the conditions so onerous that White industrialists are unwilling to risk investments in the homelands. These conditions include such restrictions as that land and building on which factories are built must belong to the government; that no foreign capital is allowed.

Surely the conditions under which White investment is accepted should be a matter for the homeland government to decide.

Voluntary work has also been given to neighbouring African States particularly in the medical field. The need of our own Africans is equally pressing and the shortage of doctors is a matter for concern. On July 14, 1970, the Minister of Health said that including personnel seconded by the provincial administrations, his department was employing 92 white medical practitioners, 10 Indians and Coloured and 3 Africans in the homelands. There were no statistics relating to the number of doctors in private practice in these areas. The number though is unlikely to be large.

The latest figure for the numbers of Africans living in the homelands is estimated to

be 6,918,000. A total of 105 doctors employed in the Department of health cares for this population. The Homelands would surely benefit from the same sort of voluntary assistance as is offered to neighbouring states.

While the Outward policy may be economically necessary and politically desirable for both South Africa and the developing countries to whom she gives aid, it will never, however, alter the opinions of most of the rest of the world as long as this government persists in its policy of racial discrimination.

The government lays stress on separate development, but it practises baaskap apartheid within the Republic. There has been no sign of a more tolerant attitude within the Republic, in fact apartheid is being applied with ever increasing severity.

Nationalist Dissidents

One reason for this is growing dissension within Afrikanerdom. The divisions in the Nationalist Party itself are becoming more evident. On the one hand the Party must try to appease the intellectuals who are disturbed by the immorality of breaking up Christian marriages of African people; by the restrictions on employment opportunities; by the tardiness of homeland development; by the futility of the border industry policy. They are also disturbed by the facts of the resettlement villages and the poverty and malnutrition which exist in these areas.

On the other hand, although the Herstigtes were soundly defeated in the General and Provincial elections, the extreme right wing in the country has by no means ceased to be a power. The reaction of the Mine Workers Union illustrated the government's dilemma and its inability to take a strong line in the matter.

The government therefore has to demonstrate its verligtheid for export in the interests of economics and its image abroad, but practises verkramphheid at home to appease its right wing dissidents.

At home it continues to pass legislation which is ever more totalitarian and unjust. Its use of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act has made us realise all the implications of indefinite detention for interrogation and has illustrated the horror of the "knock on the door". The public was greatly shocked by the case of the 22, and now we are appalled by the detention of the very Rev. French-Bey-

tagh, Anglican dean of Johannesburg. The continuing abrogation of the rule of law and the arrongance with which the government has taken upon itself powers which should rightly belong to the judiciary is typical of the behaviour of contemporary fascist and communist states.

The laws which govern the lives of the Africans, the Coloured people and the Indians are devoid of any kind of humanity. The migratory labour system, influx control, efflux enforcement are designed to reduce the number of Africans in the urban areas; the restrictions on employment opportunities; the breaking up of marriages and the whole gamut of apartheid legislation is resulting in frustration and bitterness and in a withdrawal by the Africans. Good racial relations are becoming more and more difficult to maintain.

The treatment of the Coloured and Indian people, the disruption of their communities, the mass removals, the taking away of their livelihoods is reducing them to inanimate objects and creating hatred and mistrust.

In addition there are all the other laws which make us feel ashamed such as the Immorality Act and the Censorship laws.

Our rulers are past masters in the art of making tactless and insulting statements and taking uncalled for action against intending visitors to South Africa. The cases of the Japanese jockey and Basil D'Oliviera are fresh in our memories. The residents of Dunkeld must be delighted to be told to "go to Hell" by a Cabinet Minister and Mr. Froneman's reference to "superfluous appendages" and "redundant Bantu" must do much to endear him to the African people".

It is the day to day insults which, quite apart from the discriminatory legislation, which are so hurtful and insulting. Suppose for a moment that "separate development" should prove feasible, there will always be millions of Africans working in the Republic. Are they forever to be subjected to this kind of treatment? The Coloured people and the Indians are permanent residents of the Republic, are they too always to be treated as inferior persons? The indignities are part and parcel of the system. The having to live in ghettos; the travelling in separate trains and buses; the prohibitions on their attendance at public places of entertainment, even in some Churches; their state of inferiority with regard to skilled jobs; the senseless separation from

Whites in buildings where they work; the arbitrary arrest for technical offences; the obstacles which are put in the way of ordinary social contacts, both by certain laws, such as the Group Areas Act and even more by the attitudes which lead whites to avoid such contacts and willingly to conform; the permits which they have to possess to fulfill the simplest of their aspirations and the innumerable indignities to which they are subjected all the time, even in forms of address such as "Boy" or "Girl".

The Government must realise, after 23 years in office, that its policy is unworkable and unacceptable to the majority of people in South Africa and in the world. We utterly condemn apartheid and all it stands for. Our rulers must accept that they are gambling with civilisation and that if survival is their motive for this oppression, the sooner they reverse their policy and put into practice a policy of social justice and decency, the sooner will South Africa be accepted in the world community, and our chances of survival will be increased.

1. Vorster's Foreign Policy by G. M. Cockram.
2. Hansard 1965, Vol. 18, Col. 7278 and i. 7280.
3. Hansard 1965, Vol. 19, Col. 7692.
4. Vorster's Foreign Policy by Gail-Maryse Cockram.
5. The Star, 10/10//70.
6. The facts about South Africa's assistance to the countries mentioned above were obtained from Vorster's Foreign Policy by Gail-Maryse Cockram. — The Star, December 24, 1970.
9. I.R.R. Survey. Page 132
10. African Reserves of S.A. Horrell page 117.
11. African Reserves of S.A. Horrell page 119.
12. Modernization of Apartheid, F. Van Zyl Slabbert, from Anatomy of Apartheid published by SPROCAS.
13. Government Circular No. N1/16/1.



From this...

*Fingo Village
Grahamstown*

Would you like to be deprived of your home ?

Would you like to be uprooted from the community where you have lived, worked and worshipped all your life ?

This is the threat hanging over the heads of more than 6000 people in Grahamstown's Fingo Village.

The Fingo Village was given to the Fingos in appreciation of the part they played in defending Grahamstown during border wars. In March this year it was proclaimed a Coloured area (Proclamation No. 100, March 26, 1970). If the proclamation is upheld, the people will have to get out.

The Government has blocked requests for any expansion of African housing in Grahamstown.

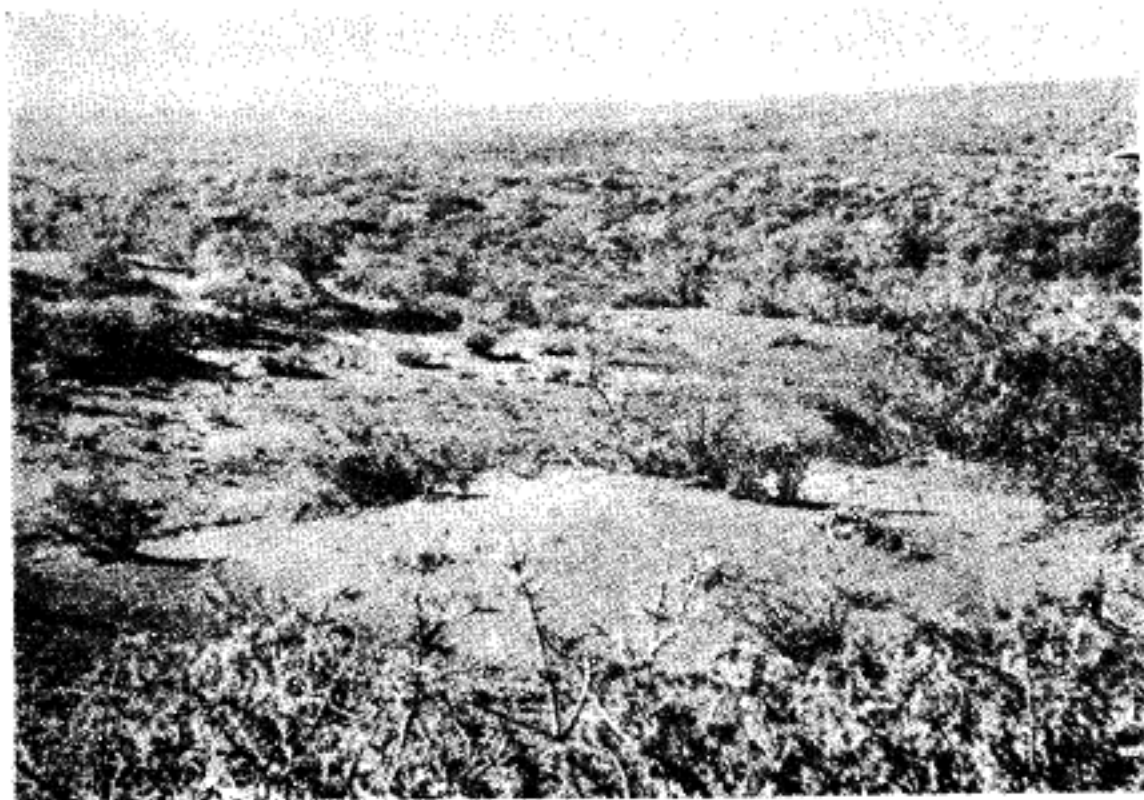
The people of the Fingo Village have not yet been told when they will have to leave, or where they will have to go; but officials have called Committee's Drift (20 miles from Grahamstown) an "ideal site for a Bantu village".

Is this where the people are to be moved ?

IS THIS JUST ?

... to
this?

*Committee's
Drift*



The Nature of Protest

JONATHAN SUZMAN

Professor Suzman is Professor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand. He gave this address to the opening meeting of the Black Sash National Conference, 1971, in Cape Town.

WHAT I AM GOING TO DO is to look for a fairly exact account of the concept of protest, of what the word 'protest' means. I'm going to do something like asking what the 'true meaning' of 'protest' is. Now I ought to warn you that one should normally be suspicious when anyone starts talking about the 'true meaning' of something, for this is usually only a way of indulging in some special pleading under the guise of an objective investigation. For all that, I think its a good idea in this case to do just what I've warned you against. I think its a good idea because there's a good reason for it which I now propose to expound.

There are many words we use which have a certain moral content — one of approval or disapproval, shall we say — as well as a certain descriptive content. To call an act a murder, for example, is both to describe it as a killing and to condemn it as unjustified — hence a certain amount of argument about the exact form of the 6th commandment: as to whether it says "Thou shalt not murder", which as it happens is the correct version, or "Thou shall not kill" which is rather more interesting as a view. To call something a *murder* is not just to say what happened but to offer a moral appraisal of it. Other terms for actions may commend rather than condemn: to say, for example, that someone *helped* or *rescued* is to do this. But these indications of acceptance or rejection can be overridden: one remembers Samuel Johnson's splendid letter to Lord Chesterfield:

"Seven years, my Lord, have now past, since I waited in your outward rooms, or was repulsed from your door; during which time I have been pushing on my work through difficulties, of which it is useless to complain, and have brought it, at last, to the verge of publication, without one act of assistance, one word of encouragement, or one smile of favour. Such treatment I did not expect, for I never had a Patron before.

The shepherd in Virgil grew at last acquainted with Love, and found him a native of the rocks.

Is not a Patron, my Lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and, when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help. The notice which you have pleased to take of my labours, had

it been early, had been kind; but it has been delayed till I am indifferent, and cannot enjoy it; till I am solitary, and cannot impart it; till I am known, and do not want it. I hope it is no very cynical asperity not to confess obligations where no benefit has been received, or to be unwilling that the Public should consider me as owing that to a Patron, which Providence has enabled me to do for myself."

This letter might be cited as an example of a sort of protest; but the only use we need make of it is to show how the presumptive approbation of one of the kind of terms at which we're looking can be overridden — how all the praise implicit in the word 'help' is cancelled by the word 'encumbers'. To encumber someone with help is not to help.

Now I want to suggest that to say that an action is a *protest* is to evaluate it as well as to describe it, if I can contrast uses of words that often overlap. To say that such and such an act is a protest is to say, at the very least, why it took place, to relate it to an act that preceded it. And the relation between the protest and what is protested at is some sort of moral relation. Let me expand on this. An act takes place. That is, an agent does something. Someone else protests — it has to be someone else, for one can't protest at one's own acts unless one is so thoroughly schizophrenic that one is in fact two.

What makes this reaction count as a protest? And why do I insist that it is only agents who can protest and that they can only protest at acts of other agents? The answer to these questions centres around the notion of responsibility, and only when this is cleared up

can I expand on the evaluative force of calling something a protest.

As I've suggested, we can't protest at our own acts — nor can we protest at acts that take place by our direct authority. More generally, because this is worth spelling out, we can't protest at anything for which we are directly responsible, like the authorised actions of our subordinates — though we can, of course, admonish or reprimand them or repudiate their actions. Responsibility, unfortunately, is a very difficult notion to deal with, as lawyers know. We can be held responsible for things we didn't intend or do — as when we have to pay for damage caused by our overzealous employee in a car accident; but we won't normally be held criminally liable for his action. Laws distinguish in extent between civil and criminal responsibility. And when indulging in ordinary moral appraisals, when justifying the acts of others or ourselves, we again have notions of responsibility in varying breadth. It's not a simple matter to fix responsibility, still less to ascertain its degree. This is particularly true of complex kinds of sets of acts such as policies.

Nonetheless, we do blame, praise or commend people; and often find that we can be regarded as morally responsible for an extraordinary variety of things. Citizens of a country are often regarded as responsible (or at least as tainted by responsibility) for every least act of their country's government or even of any of its citizens. This is familiar enough to South Africans. Where a man might feel shame for an act, then he sees himself, and can be seen by others, as at least associated with responsibility for the act in question.

A man who tries to disclaim responsibility by association for an act can be said to dissociate himself from the act. And I want to suggest that an act of protest is an act of formal dissociation.

There are, one might say, two general ways of getting out of being held responsible for something. One can make claims in mitigation — one wasn't consulted, one didn't know it happened, and so forth. These are counter-arguments that can be used against someone who claims to hold one responsible; they are reasons for not holding one responsible. But to protest is to do more than offer such a reason — it is a way of avoiding responsibility. To protest at, to repudiate an act is to refuse responsibility before anyone tries to implicate one. If one walks out of a committee making such a decision, or asks for one's

negative vote to be recorded, one is by a formal action excluding and dissociating oneself from the doing of the act. If marriage is taken as an analogy to association, then protest is more akin to seeking an annulment than a divorce. Alternatively, one might say that citing the fact of protest in exculpation is more like pleading not guilty on grounds of mistaken identity than making a plea of diminished responsibility.

The allotment, the imputation of responsibility becomes very complicated once one goes beyond considering acts of individuals in a fairly straightforward sense. One has merely the problem of tracing the responsible agent and then of assessing the extent of his responsibility. But when, as we say, an organisation or body does something, through one man or many, we often have a gap between he who decides on the action and he who executes it. This must complicate our notion of responsibility to some extent. It is in these sorts of contexts that the notions of association and dissociation come alive. The stages of enquiry, deliberation, decision and execution, the fixing on general policy and doing of specific acts in terms of it, are for many simple acts accomplished by the same man. With associations, however, these functions are often entrusted to different individuals, different agents, with elaborate interrelations between them. The case of Lt. Calley in the U.S.A., and the relative degrees of responsibility to be assigned to his superiors and subordinates, is a case in point. And, when we deal with acts of state, no one seems exempt from the implication of association, if only through obedience and tacit consent. We are liable to speak (often in a loose way) of conniving at, or acquiescing in such acts of association with those who do them. And it is in these confused and complex circumstances that symbolic acts of association and dissociation are important, that protest has its natural place.

It should be quite clear that if we take it in a narrow sense, protesting ought not to be confused with evincing disagreement, opposing, complaining, arguing or other acts of what one might call participatory dissent. These other acts are part of the normal variety of ways in which men accomplish joint acts, especially within complex organisations, where men come to agree with, to assent to or just to accept or condone certain actions. Many of these other activities are associative rather than dissociative: argument is essential to the

effective formulation and execution of policies. But to protest, strictly speaking, is formally to opt out of this process in this regard. I shall discuss later some of the implications of saying that this is a formal act, for the moment I wish to stress this distinction of protest from the dissenting activities with which it is very easily confused.

You may remember that I began contrasting the evaluative and descriptive force of the word protest. The evaluative force seems to me to be primarily tied to what I have called the strict sense of protest, one central feature of which I have just mentioned. The descriptive force seems to me to be much looser, and here we find the temptation to confuse protest with similar activities because they are often accomplished in the same sort of way. The form of words 'You oughtn't to have done that' can, depending on the context, the intention of the speaker, his relation to his interlocutor and so on, be used to protest, reprimand, instruct or oppose. They can be used, that is to say, associatively or dissociatively.

Just as there are degrees of responsibility, so there are degrees of dissociation. Total dissociation which corresponds, say to resignation from a body, is often not possible or at least very difficult. Most dissociation will tend to be with respect to a specific act or policy, and strictly, it is wrong to speak of degrees of dissociation as if all such states could be compared with each other. Two questions, however, naturally arise here. Firstly, how far can one dissociate oneself, in respect of how many acts, before one has left the association? And, secondly, how far is one entitled to indulge in selective dissociation? Of course no general answer can be given to either question. But one can illustrate the lines particular answers will take.

When one is not speaking of the voluntary membership of a society with a single object, it must be recognised that associations have a variety of ties and connections between their members and parts. Dissociation involving relations of responsibility connected with some of these will not necessarily imply the same state with respect to others. So one must argue that the more complex an association the more respects in which an associate can be discussed. This truism is not as banal as it might appear, however. For it runs counter to the claim that a complex association, like the state, requires absolute loyalty and agreement, in respect of all of its views and acts. Of course,

different associations might construe their requirements for members more or less strictly: but the logical possibility of a fairly relaxed view in this regard cannot be gainsaid. One can only, speaking abstractly, increase the firmness of such requirements of total association by devices that increase the responsibility of associates for acts of the association.

These devices would be ones that allow of increased participation by associates. When participation is not in the making of decisions, but consists in ceremonial assent, often of an enforced nature, responsibility is not necessarily genuinely extended. This point is considered in great detail later.

These same considerations cover one's entitlement to dissociate. However much we require that people "Take the rough with the smooth", that they recognise the mixed options and complex choices of action, this formal entitlement to dissociate from specific acts is unaffected, so long as it conforms to the normal requirements of consistency. One cannot repudiate the corollaries and obvious consequences of a policy one has approved.

Given the wide variety of forms of association, one is forced to ask why we ought to distinguish associative from dissociative dissent? The answer is that they are directed to entirely different ends. Dissociation, I have argued, is directed to disclaiming responsibility on specific acts already completed: associative dissent is directed, rather, to acts as yet undecided and to conclusions which have not yet eventuated. It looks to the future while protest looks to the immediate past. And the justification of forward-looking dissent is plain: it is justified by the fact that it is directed to the accomplishment of the best acts, the formulation of the most advantageous policies.

Protest, on the other hand, is concerned with the irrevocable. Unlike complaint, for example, it does not look for redress or satisfaction. It is concerned not to change acts but to disclaim responsibility. Such a characterisation raises several questions, some of them, one is tempted to think, indignant. Why, first, do I seem to assimilate protesting to something like pointless whining?, and how, secondly, can one justify such activities at all, least of all suggest that they have an intrinsic justification?

I wish to claim that this justification arises out of the narrow definition of protest and it might appear that I have defined protest too narrowly in making it appear that it must

be bootless. Did not recent protest bring about the communication of sentences on Basques and Russian Jews, prevent the cricket tour of England, alter the structure and even the nature of several major universities? But one must answer this with a counterquestion. Would these protests then have been unjustified if they had not helped to bring about these effects? And the answer to this is plainly, no. They could, loosely have been said to have been unsuccessful. But they wouldn't have been unjustified. Certain acts may be justified even if they have no effect or outcome, even if they are in a sense pointless.

Certainly we justify some actions by their outcomes; but protest we don't and the same is true with some other acts, such as certain duties. To keep faith with the secret and even silly requests of a dying man might be thought to be a duty because it arises from an act of promising. A moral rule enjoins that one keeps promises. Protesting arises from the existence of such moral rules. If a man holds certain views and beliefs he is bound to react in some way to the acts of others which may breach these views. Not necessarily on all occasions, of course. If one is a protagonist of blue hydrangeas one isn't bound to press their virtues on an armed psychopath who is occupied digging up all the blue hydrangeas he can find. But if one never says anything on appropriate occasions doubts might be felt as the sincerity or depth of one's belief. A belief kept absolutely secret may well be doubted to exist. I don't say it can't exist—but it mayn't.

Let me put it this way: beliefs are things on which one acts, and without acts one's adherence to a belief is doubtful. Of course we know cases such as that of the Marranos in Spain, who maintained (even though they may be said to have compromised) their Judaism through several generations of enforced Christianity. But they didn't keep their beliefs secret from everyone — their children knew of this and were brought up in them. They performed acts of sufficient moral gravity to confirm their adherence to a set of beliefs they publicly eschewed. So even such examples do not run counter to the claim that there is a logical connection between having beliefs and expressing them or acting on them.

If, then, one has a belief, one not merely has a right to protest at acts which flout them but one has a certain kind of duty to do so. Now this doesn't mean that one has a duty to protest at all acts that affront, or hinder the exercise of, one's belief — this would

be a very tiresome doctrine indeed. What it means is that one's duty — which is a duty in regard to oneself rather than others — arises from the holding of one's beliefs. Not that one is bound (again tiresomely) to propagate one's beliefs, even moral ones, although one must at least desire that they spread. It is just that having a belief means acting on it when it is appropriate; and that a central way of so acting is on occasions when it is appropriate but one's action is proscribed or opposed, or when someone propagates, or worse, enforces, an alternative view. On such occasions the act that exhibits a belief is one of protest.

And it is this adherence to a belief that reinforces the dissociative, responsibility-disclaiming nature of protest. For it means that one dissociates oneself from an act not just because one wasn't consulted, say, but because one would have done it very differently or not done it at all. And one is sure of this because to do the act in question would run counter to certain deeply felt beliefs. It is easy to suppose one might have acted differently from someone else in circumstances where one hasn't had to face the responsibility of decision. But the claim that one would have acted differently is supported if one firmly and publicly adheres to certain general beliefs which would have precluded the act. Protest is, so to speak, a duty when failure to do so might throw one's adherence to these beliefs seriously into question. But one is by no means bound to protest whenever it might be appropriate: a person can protest too much in the modern sense of the word as well as the connected Shakespearian one. It shouldn't be possible to think that one is working at convincing oneself of one's own beliefs.

The intrinsic justification one can claim for protest arises then from its nature as a corollary, a consequence, of the holding of general beliefs. Responsibility, when it does not arise from an unusual negligence, flows from one's being a moral agent, one who has beliefs and policies attributable to him, and acts upon them.

We all have to act on our own moral beliefs, even against opposition. But we mostly recognise the legitimacy, if not the correctness of alternative views. That they are possibly rather than actually correct is what warrants an acknowledgement of the right to protest in their favour. But a Miltonian defence of dissent is hardly necessary. What I think important, though, is that this view draws atten-

tion to the dynamic nature of our moral perceptions. We come to see things differently as time passes, whether we use the eyes of our heads or our souls. Just as an artist is expected to extend, even awaken, our vision, so should a moralist. The latter is, of course, not an acknowledged profession, nor should it be. But the fact that most new visions begin as heresies is a good reason for a certain respect for them. Only the least degree of humility is required for this recognition.

It is not only moral viewpoints that alter through time. Associations, as I have very abstractly called them, also change. This is true whether we speak of the complexity and depth of society or the temporary propinquity of those who share a seat on the bus. And with complex associations the variations need not be total. These variations will arise from the changing ties of association that hold between its parts, whether these hold between individual and association, association and association or what have you. If the whole association is the ordered set of relations of association between its parts, when these vary, it will itself vary, though some of these changes will be more important than others. Acts of dissociation may rupture some of the links. But in so doing they can improve the association by making it more flexible, more capable of appropriate adaptation.

Such a degree of selective dissociation is, of course, anathema to the protagonist of the organic state, of their total union that requires, and if needs be enforces, the joint responsibility of all citizens for all acts, even those against themselves. Such a state denies the legitimacy of alternative viewpoints, and it tries to spread responsibility and deepen association by requiring participative acts of its members in such things as bogus referenda and contrived demonstrations of support. The citizens of such a totalitarian state (which demands not just conformity but enthusiasm for all its doings) might claim that their association is forced, as is their assent to the acts of the state. Their responsibility for their acts would then be doubtful, even if not quite absent. For they are in the position of the man with the proverbial gun to his head, whose responsibility is thus diminished. Under this sort of duress the gravest acts are forbidden one; but as these are the sort of acts often committed by totalitarian states, their citizens cannot avoid all responsibility for them.

It ought to be pointed out that dissociation

in one respect does not merely fail to exclude association in another, but that it even allows of acts of association in the same area. One may protest at the imposition, execution and strengthening of the pass laws and yet be party to them in both signing appropriately one's employees passes and in offering advice on people's rights and duties under these very laws. To deplore a law is enough as a pure act of protest. But to attempt to mitigate the harshness of an act one disapproves of seems to me very constructive. And it emphasises that dissociation can be selective, although it is easiest to make this clear when the act of dissociation is purely an individual one.

For to associate oneself — this is not paradoxical — in or with a dissociative act or body carries its own risks: for this very act or body may not be exactly what one would wish to tie oneself to. Even in dissociation we face the mixed options that make association so complicated. We all are aware how imperfect and even embarrassing, as occasions for protest, are many of those which one nevertheless feels one cannot evade.

This is why complete clarity about the object of protest is very important to the scrupulous protestor, and why he will try to limit the extent of protest so that it does not become something else. For when one says that protest is intrinsically justified, one does not suggest that all those activities that people are liable to call protest actually count as such. Dissociation, for example, doesn't mean disobedience, although there are certain things one ought not to do, even under orders, even under duress. To dissociate oneself from the passing of a law does not imply that one has to break it, though one may find it impossible to conform to some enactments, especially if they enjoin rather than forbid. All that protest requires is that a formal act of dissociation takes place by saying 'I protest at, refuse to associate myself with X; . . . etc.' or by resigning, or by carrying a placard saying 'Down with X' or by signing a petition or what have you. These formal acts are successful as soon as they are done, and it is such acts alone that are justified intrinsically as protests. The justification of these formal acts of protest, as acts arising directly from adherence to a moral point of view, is complete.

These formal acts of dissociation are, it will be noticed, acts of communication. Now we can make a technical distinction between communicating protest and addressing it. Very roughly, one may communicate protest as an

act to anyone; but it must be addressed to the author, the 'appropriate authority'. While it may be argued that a protest only succeeds when addressed and not just communicated, the alternative view is also defensible. The sporadic protests of Russian intellectuals confined to labour camps or mental wards is only accomplished when they are published abroad. The question whom does one protest to? is open.

What ought to be clear is that protesting is performing a communicative act; and so long as one has communicated, which certainly does not imply having obtained redress or agreement, one has succeeded in this act. A protester may try to make this communication to the widest possible audience, and this is a legitimate aim. But this legitimacy does not extend to attempts to accomplish this by bad behaviour, obstruction or crime — by putting oil on grass courts, occupying buildings or kidnapping people. Such acts may be regarded as protests which are intrinsically justified, but they are also acts which fall under other descriptions and so may be condemned and punished, not as protests but as such acts. It is here that the distinction between the broad and narrow senses of 'protest' should become clear. In the broad sense the word 'protest' can cover acts with ends or objects other than the communication of dissociation; and also acts which accomplish this communication in an outrageous or even wicked fashion. Neither such acts or such means are justified as protests, though other justifications may be sought or found for them. That such acts of so-called protest are often counterproductive does not mean that we must confuse them with acts of protest proper which are mostly unproductive, in the sense that they neither seek nor get redress.

I have only been able to discuss a few of the features of this important activity, protest, in the course of my address. It has seemed to me proper to develop these few points fairly fully, rather than chatter superficially about too many.

But I think it appropriate to conclude by pointing out how important for protest is the individual act of authority, or person affected by the act, as opposed to the general principles or policies at which we also protest. The reason for this preference for the particular is that our moral grasp is often surer in the individual case. I know that lawyers say that hard cases make bad law — but they make good ethics. This is especially true here in

South Africa, where to talk of mere complexity is to underrate the difficulties we face, and to talk of them as problems is to falsely imply the existence of solutions. Here there have been and will be only outcomes. The overall morality of general policies is not all that obvious because of the multitude of relevant considerations. The outcomes of such policies are generally obscure, and where we can see likelihoods they appear uniformly unpleasant.

In these confusing circumstances, an appropriate grasp of, a feel for the particular case is all-important. It is what happens to individual men and women that is crucial. In these cases we may be said to know, while elsewhere we mostly speculate. It is men, on the whole, who construct grandiose systems of ideas to which they try and force reality to conform, it is men who, obsessed by ideals, so often ignore the detailed effects of their application. Women, on the other hand, do have a feel for the individual case and an eye for the particular. I know it is currently unfashionable to suggest any differences between men and women other than the most obvious ones. But it does seem to me that the female sense of practicality is to say the least no disadvantage in such ethical matters. It is men who pursue overambitious and often poorly thought out schemes, and then describe the individual unpleasantness and indignities that ensue as 'merely transitional'. But the temporary becomes customary. Just as the dictatorship of the proletariat, although supposed to be temporary, has not led to the withering-away of the state but the withering-away of the individual, so our 'temporary' policies of migrant labour and 'petty' apartheid are leading to the erosion of the customs of decency and thoughtfulness.

The approach at the individual level is the real test of any system. For women to protest at failure here, and to offer by dignified protest an example of decency, compassion and respect for others, is surely not merely justified, as I have argued tonight, but good.

"Let us unite as a people, as Whites are united and glean whatever development is allowed us in our lifetime, for the benefit of posterity."

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Woman's Charter

(This charter was adopted by the National Conference of the Black Sash in Cape Town in February, 1971)

The rights enumerated in this Charter might appear to be so fundamental as not to need stating at all. All Women should have them, but in South Africa the majority of women do not. In fact, African women do not enjoy any of them, because the whole policy of apartheid, which entrenches discrimination on the basis of colour, has caused the denial of these rights to be written into the laws of the land.

1. Every woman has the right to choose her marriage partner.
2. Every woman has the right to live with her husband throughout her married life.
3. Every woman has the right to live with her children, to protect them and to care for them.
4. Every woman has the right to free education for her children.
5. Every woman has the right to own or to rent property in her own name.
6. Every woman has the right to freedom of movement and residence.
7. Every woman has the right to work, to free choice of employment and to just and favourable conditions of work.
8. Every woman has the right to live out her declining years with those who wish to care for her.
9. Every woman is entitled to these fundamental rights and freedoms which shall not be violated by any law or administrative action.

Petition handed in to the House of Assembly on Thursday, February 18th, 1971, in the name of Mrs. Jean Sinclair. It was signed by all delegates to the National Conference of the Black Sash in Cape Town, representing all the members of the Black Sash

This Petition incorporates a Charter of Women's Rights and asks for their extension to all African women.

African women in the Republic of South Africa have suffered untold hardship since they were subjected to the provisions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 (Act No. 25 of 1945).

Before this Act was applied to women they were not subject to the restrictions of the Influx Control nor were they obliged to have Reference Books.

Because there is a total embargo on the entry of women into most prescribed areas for the purpose of residence and/or employment, women are separated from their husbands working in the Urban areas by law for the greater part of their married lives and women are unable to accept remunerative employment where this is offered to them.

Because the onus of proof of lawful entry into and continuous residence in a prescribed area rests on the African woman concerned, thousands are unable to establish their right

to remain in the prescribed areas to work, to live with their husbands, or to live with their parents.

Because of the rigid application of Influx Control, women are separated from their children and are not permitted to bring them to live at home in their care. Teenage children are deprived of the stability and security of family life by the law.

Because African women cannot enter most of the urban areas to seek or accept employment there are thousands of women breadwinners in the Homelands and in rural areas who are prevented by law from earning a living wage to support themselves and their families.

There are hundreds of women living illegally in the towns who are unable to work because they are unable to be registered in their employment.

Because African women who were born in a foreign country can never acquire South African citizenship, however many years they may have lived in the Republic, many are repatriated to their countries of origin, thus being separated from their South African husbands and, in some cases, from their South African born children.

Because the payment of old-age or disability pensions to Africans is dependent on lawful residence, many old people are destitute, living illegally with their families in the urban areas, in fear of arrest. Many others are forced to live in resettlement areas in order to draw a pension and are thus separated from their families.

Because the regulations governing African residential areas in the urban areas are so demanding and so rigidly enforced, thousands of African women can never have a home of their own in which to rear their children or to live with their husbands in decency and security. Widows, divorced, deserted or unmarried women are rarely permitted to rent a house, irrespective of whether or not they are able to pay the rent.

We believe that —

1. Every woman has the right to choose her marriage partner.
2. Every woman has the right to live with her husband throughout her married life.
3. Every woman has the right to live with her children, to protect them and to care for them.

4. Every woman has the right to free education for her children.
5. Every woman has the right to own or to rent property in her own name.
6. Every woman has the right to freedom of movement and residence.
7. Every woman has the right to work, to free choice of employment and to just and favourable conditions of work.
8. Every woman has the right to live out her declining years with those who wish to care for her.
9. Every woman is entitled to these fundamental rights and freedoms which shall not be violated by any law or administrative action.

Because we believe that the deliberate destruction of family life by legislation is evil; because we know that this destruction is causing the most serious damage to the whole structure of life, moral and economic, of all the people of South Africa, and because we believe that continuation of the present policy towards the African people will have disastrous consequences for South Africa and all her people, we petition Parliament:—

- 1.) To remove all the legal barriers which prevent the freedom of movement of African women.
- 2.) To allow all African women to live with their husbands wherever the men are working, to have their children of whatever age to live with them and to move freely with them at the dictates of family and economic pressures.
- 3.) To allow all African women to seek and accept employment.
- 4.) To allow African women to be in possession of Identity Cards on the same basis as White, Coloured and Asiatic women, instead of forcing them to carry Reference Books, which control every aspect of their lives.

“No single unbridled handyman should ever be afforded the opportunity to experiment or play with the minds of people or with the happiness of people. They have no right to do so.”

*Mr. Blaar Coetzee,
Minister of Community Development*

Inter-Racial Contacts Still Permitted by Law

This summary was prepared in Cape Town by Mrs. Marquard in consultation with several lawyers.

ALTHOUGH RECENT LEGISLATION has considerably restricted contact between White and non-White, there is still scope for meeting between the races. Proclamation R26 of 1965, which re-enacted Proclamation R25 of 1960, substituting "place of entertainment" for "public cinema", and the recent Prohibition of Political Interference Act have made many of the public unsure of what is still lawful, so that they are hesitant to invite members of another race to their houses, or to arrange interracial meetings. It may therefore, be helpful to say what it is still lawful to do.

Generally speaking, while many contacts between individuals and groups of different races are still lawful, what is forbidden is mixed public entertainment, and eating or drinking together in a place of public entertainment. Provided these things are private they are lawful.

The following gatherings are "private" and therefore lawful:

1. A sit-down meal in a private home, or a social party or gathering such as a wedding, not open to the public, is lawful without a permit; so too, a sit-down meal in what is normally a public restaurant, provided that on that occasion it is closed to the public, that is, entirely taken over by the host for his multi-racial guests. But a racially mixed gathering cannot sit down to a meal in public i.e. in a restaurant not closed to the public or in a club, whether as a member or as a guest.
2. Private gatherings or functions, open only to members or by invitation, are lawful. These include concerts and plays held in private places or in what are normally public places but have been taken over for the occasion by an individual, provided the guests are there by invitation.
3. The meeting of a society, even though open to the public, is lawful provided it is not entertainment.
4. Cake sales and morning markets are lawful, although they may be open to the public, provided there are no sideshows for entertainment.

5. Private tennis matches, on private courts or courts hired for the purpose, are lawful, and so, according to a recent decision, are soccer and other matches played on school fields, if they are not intended for public entertainment.

Public multi-racial meetings are lawful except that where a meeting is in support of a political party or candidate, it would be unlawful to address such a meeting if the greater majority of the meeting belongs to race groups to which the speaker does not belong.

It is lawful to attend as a member of the audience, a political (or any other) meeting at which the audience is composed of one or more race groups.

It is lawful to have discussions and consultations with individual members of other race groups.

It is lawful to distribute printed matter on a multi-racial basis.

It is necessary to obtain a permit for any multi-racial form of entertainment that is open to the public, such as a fête with sideshows, a sporting event, parties, a circus or fair, and Carols by Candlelight.

Christ or Pelsler ?

Father COSMAS DESMOND O.F.M.

Author of "The Discarded People"

Mr. Theo Gerdener and the Security Police have done the Church a great favour by their recent actions against Churchmen and Church institutions. But they will have to be a lot more zealous in their efforts if we are to have a Church-State confrontation in South Africa. Such a confrontation must come sometime, unless the official Churches choose to succumb and die a quiet death. But there has been little evidence so far that most Church leaders have the necessary courage to take a firm enough stand on their principles to produce a confrontation. They will not do this until they cease to be so White-orientated and realise that 75 per cent of the Church in this country is Black.

But the blame cannot be laid completely on the Church leaders; in any case no radical change has ever been initiated from the top. The Bishops and other Church leaders in Germany have often been condemned for their compromising attitude towards the Nazi regime. But they were doubtless only reflecting the attitude of the majority of their Church members. Likewise in this country the Church leaders reflect the values and attitudes, not of the majority of their members, but of the influential minority with whom they mix socially and on whom they depend financially. So we cannot expect the hierarchies to give the lead in confronting the Government; they are too busy protecting their White interests.

But fortunately the Church is much bigger than its leaders, and those who consider that the Church has the right and duty to concern itself with all aspects of peoples' lives form the vast majority of the Church both in this country and in the Church as a whole. They are only in the minority among White Church members in this country. (Even 'progressive' Christians often fall into the trap of considering the institutional Church as primarily White. They make such remarks as: 'Even in the Church there is only a minority which is opposed to the Government!') The Churches tend to sacralise numbers, so perhaps if the leaders realised that in confronting the Government they would

have the support of the vast majority of their members they would have the courage to do so. But at present both Government and Church leaders are too concerned with preserving the status quo for either side to want a confrontation.

Mr. Gerdener and other Government spokesmen have taken great pains to point out that they are not acting against the Churches as such but against individuals. What they mean is that they are not acting against the Church as *they* understand it and they are not interfering in Church activities as *they* understand them. (Such arbitrary use of language invalidates any attempt at dialogue with such people.) I do not know what qualifications these gentlemen have to make theological pronouncements, but they are taking issue with St. Paul and every reputable theologian since him. St. Paul, for example, explained at some length that if anything happens to one part of the body (i.e. the Church) then the whole body is affected. So, although unfortunately there is no sign of a direct confrontation between the official Church leaders and the Government, it is still true that the Government is attacking the Church and interfering in Church activities as these are understood by the vast majority of Christians.

There is no support in the Bible for Mr. Gerdener's interpretation of 'Church activities' and one could fill a book with references to the works of theologians who would not even consider such a concept. Dom Helder Camara, for example, speaks of the "eminently Christian mission of defending abused human beings." Others state quite emphatically: "Christianity has already been compromised by its historical association with the the political 'right'. Our place is now with the political agitators; with strikers for better industrial conditions, against war in Vietnam . . . Our task is not to convert the world but to change it." Many of the Church people whose activities have been dismissed as 'political' would be considered quite ordinary and even rather conservative elsewhere in the world.

So far the Church has conformed to the

Government's definition of Church and Church activities. They have allowed the Government to determine the limits of their work: e.g. who can be taught in Church schools or admitted to Church institutions, where Church workers may live and work, at whose marriages priests may officiate etc. Now it seems that the Government wishes to determine what priests may do and what they may preach. It is not such a great step from this to the situation in some communist countries where only Government-approved priests may hold ecclesiastical offices. The Rhodesian Bishops saw this danger. They claimed that the whole future of the Church was at stake because "the missionary who is sent to teach all nations may henceforth exercise his apostolic function on sufferance only, where and when and for as long as he is issued by the State with a permit to do so . . . It may well be that we shall also be denied, in violation of our conscience, the right to educate in our schools whomsoever we will. We may even be forced by regulation to refuse hospital beds to anyone not of the race approved in that area. Priests, nuns, and brothers may have to be segregated in their communities according to their racial origin." The state of affairs about which they were so alarmed has long been legalised in South Africa and meekly accepted by the Churches.

The evil effect of apartheid are of course suffered almost exclusively by Blacks — pass laws, migratory labour, removals etc. — and Government interference has primarily curbed Church activities among Blacks, so the Church leaders being basically White-orientated have not made a stand. (Church leaders would have done something long ago if millions of White South Africans were being uprooted and dumped in 'homelands', and if White families were being separated by law.) But now that White clergy and Church workers are being affected they are beginning to take notice.

If the Church leaders are going to take the matter seriously and decide whose definition of Christianity we are to follow, perhaps they could give us some practical advice on a particular problem. Christ says quite explicitly that we must visit the sick and the imprisoned; in fact he makes it a determinative norm for eternal salvation. But Mr. Pelsler says that we must not visit the sick if they are banished or under house arrest, (and, in most Whites' cases, if they live in a location or

'Bantu Area') and we must not visit the imprisoned if they are imprisoned under the Terrorism Act. Whom must we obey, Christ or Pelsler?

SPRO-CAS

Study project on christianity in apartheid society. (Sponsored by the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Institute of Southern Africa.)

What is Spro-Cas?

The Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society was set up to examine South African society in the light of Christian principles and to make recommendations aimed at achieving a new, more just social order.

Spro-cas consists of six expert commissions on economics, education, law, politics, society and the church, comprising nearly 150 leading South Africans from many different walks of life. These commissions began their work in the middle of 1969 and will end it by the middle of 1971 with the publication of their reports.

A full set of the eleven SPRO-CAS publications may be ordered for R10 from Spro-cas, P.O. Box 31134, Braamfontein, Transvaal, or 513, Dunwell, 35 Jorissen Street, Braamfontein, Johannesburg. Separate copies of the individual commission reports may be purchased from the above address or from leading booksellers.



"This is the effect of the police of Separate Development. Backed by a law to separate the races. To make of them units to be moved according to some master plan. And implemented in such a manner that all human considerations seem to have been overlooked. In which the ideal of separation is all important, and development is just some word tacked on to round out a phrase."

*Mr. Eric Winchester, M.P.,
in his report — "The Department of
Community Development — A Call
for Action."*

Outlook in Elgin - 1971

ANNE BROWN

An active member of Black Sash. This paper was presented at Conference in Cape Town.

WE HAVE BEEN ASKED to give you a paper on the Outlook in Elgin, but before we can talk of the outlook we must take a backlook in an attempt to show how we have become what we are. But before we do that we must put ourselves on the map geographically for those of you who come from places beyond the Western Cape, for we hope that those who live in the Western Cape will not need to be told where Elgin is — even if they only know it as a place on the way to Hermanus.

The district of Elgin lies forty miles from Cape Town on the way to Caledon and Hermanus, in a basin in the mountains between Sir Lowry's Pass and Houwhoek Pass. Our height above sea level varies from 600 ft. to 1,000 ft. We enjoy cold wet winters, with often a bit of frost, and hot dry summers. With us the ubiquitous South Easter does not blow as strongly as it does over the False Bay area, and all this means that Elgin is an ideal place for deciduous fruit, which is its staple industry. The cold and frosty winters put the trees to sleep and the lack of strong summer wind allows the apples to sit peacefully on the trees until picked. However, unseasonable North-westers have been known to knock them off, but that is another story. The valley is watered by the Palmiet River and its tributaries.

Since early settler times this valley has been on the map, as the only road to Swellendam and the eastern part of the colony went through it. The crossing of the Palmiet was effected on what is now Oude Brug farm. A toll-house was built and oak trees planted for shade for the outspan. Some time ago when the river was being dredged, an old naval cannon was brought up from the bottom, having once, one supposes, fallen off a wagon on its way to defend some outpost in the east.

Looking at Elgin now — a valley of apple orchards, grassy pastures, and pine and gum plantations, it is difficult to believe that up to the turn of the century, the area was considered wasteland. The people who lived here ran a few sheep, kept pigs and bees, cultivated small patches of land and went in for transport riding. The natural vegetation was sour, and land was cheap.

These conditions were dramatically changed by Sir Anthony Viljoen who bought a large

tract of land on which he began experimenting after the Boer War. He found that deciduous fruits seemed to do well. He was joined in the Valley by the Molteno Brothers and Miss Kathleen Murray, and these first pioneers helped to lay the foundations for the flourishing farming area that Elgin has become. Finally, since the beginning of this century, the government has developed forest plantations in the Elgin Valley, the area covered by these plantations being now in the region of 6,000 acres.

The People who live here

Until the last war, the great majority of the farmers in this area were English speaking and these tended to employ Afrikaans speaking foremen, mechanics and clerks. After the war when Elgin began to prosper exceedingly, the farming population increased at a great rate, large farms were cut into smaller ones and many are now owned by Afrikaans speaking people. There are something like 170 farms of varying sizes in Elgin today.

These farms support a large community of Coloured labourers and their families — a small farm will have perhaps six or eight families living permanently on it, large farms as many as fifty families and the largest, one hundred and eleven. With the growing prosperity there have been growing improvements in the housing and amenities provided. But, apart from the growing prosperity, there are other factors that have given an impetus to improvements. One factor is the growth of other industry in the district — a large saw-mill, a canning factory, a prefabricated housing business, the Appletiser factory, and most recently, a cardboard container factory. These concerns must compete for labour, and this

means that farmers have had to improve wages and conditions to keep the workers they need. As a result of shortage of labour over the mountain, a canning factory at Somerset West and a Deep Freeze business at Faure recruit labour from Elgin — mainly women — fetching and returning them in buses daily. The forestry department has never offered much competition because they do not employ a great number of men in their plantations. Although forestry pay is poor, the housing they provide is of a very high standard compared with much farm housing.

But we think that one of the most powerful influences in the improvement of labour conditions and general farm welfare was that one farmer, Mr. Lombardi, now of Appletiser fame, who, after the war, began to improve his housing for coloured employees, provided a creche with a nurse in charge. He developed, in fact, a new attitude to his coloured labour, and this was a new attitude in Elgin. Other farmers followed suit and now, on most farms, large and small, there have been improvements in wages, in housing and general conditions — and an increased awareness of their employees' needs. On large farms will be found well organised creches, shops that sell at cost, welfare workers, clinics, community halls, and football fields on which play thriving football clubs who now have organised themselves into a local league. Nearly all farms now provide a lorry on Saturday mornings to take their coloured families into the village to do their shopping.

The basic wage for a coloured farm labourer today in Elgin is R1 to R1.20 per day, with increases for various skills, for years of service and bi-annual or twice yearly bonuses in some cases. In the season the women work too, putting their children into the creche, on larger farms, and in the packsheds as sorters they earn R1.50 a day and as packers they can average as much as R20 a week, or more if they are good. During the winter and spring there is also work for them, thinning the fruit in the orchards. It must be remembered that housing, water and light (for those farms where they have laid on electricity to their coloured houses) are free, as is fire wood and milk on some farms is sold at 1c or 2c a pint. There is of course no legislation governing rates of pay and housing and general conditions of work — all depends on the individual employer. While there are now some excellent houses for coloured labourers on many farms, perhaps with electric light, running water and

bathrooms, there can also be found some very bad ones.

African labour is a sadder story, as it is all over the Republic. With the laws that govern and the red tape that restricts the lives of the Africans and their movements, farmers may only employ them on contract, for a fixed period of time. A quota has to be applied for from the B.A.D. which is given at the department's discretion. Some farmers send lorries up to Matatiele, Umtata, Butterworth or other centres and for every load they collect there are at least three or four times as many asking for employment. Others rely on South African Railways. Housing for these workers is inspected by the B.A.D. who lay down a minimum standard and carry out inspections.

The African worker's basic wage is about 95 cents a day but again, as with the coloured man, he can make more by acquiring skills, and by incentive bonuses. The Africans are employed mainly in the orchards. Some farmers provide meals for their workers — one large farm that employs 120, a stew of beans, vegetables, mealies, meat and pronutro is cooked centrally and taken round to all working gangs by a coloured pensioner on a tractor and trailer, each worker receiving a billy can of the stew.

Again employment figures vary with the size of the farm. A small one will have perhaps eight or ten Africans on contract, larger ones as many as 120, and the largest farm as many as 730.

If a farmer is lucky he will, in succeeding years, be able to find men at the collection points in the Ciskei and Transkei who have worked with him before and will not have to be taught from the beginning again. But often this is not so and the system of migrant labour here in Elgin takes its toll of efficiency as it does everywhere else in the Republic.

The Village

The farming community is served by the village of Grabouw which has grown and prospered with the growth and prosperity of the surrounding district. What began as one pioneer store, a Dutch Reformed Church and a few houses forty or so years ago, is now a small town with a municipality and all the trappings of small towns everywhere else — garages, chemist shop, self-service stores, Greek and Portuguese vegetable shops and four churches.

Again, as in many other places, a Coloured community has grown up in the village over

the years as the demand for workers in shops and factories (canning and pre-fab housing) increased. Then came Group Areas, and the Municipality had to build a coloured township called Pine View about a mile outside the village. In this township demand for most inferior housing always exceeds the supply, while houses once lived in by Coloured people still stand empty down in the white area. An area of Pine View is given over to a home ownership scheme and in the last two years some very good houses have been put up by their owners, in marked contrast to the mean dwellings owned by the Council. But this of course is the same in any Coloured township. In the last few months a grocer's shop, bakery and cafe have appeared, and also a children's play ground, supplied by the enthusiastic local branch of Round Table, who are also helping the Pine View committee with sports fields. There is still no sign of the community centre promised by the municipality.

After the war, on land above the village next to where Pine View now stands, had grown up an African shanty town in answer to the demand for labour in the village and the factories. It was accepted by the Municipality, who laid water to it, and asked a small ground rent from those dwelling there. There was, of course, great poverty but also much happy family life, and many families lived there who had known no other home for fifteen or twenty years, or more. Now of course there is no Newtown. Its men are now migrant workers and its women and children are in Dimbaza, Sada, Witzieshoek — a grim Republic-wide story that the Sash knows well, and so there is no need to repeat it now. The families still keep in touch with some of us and we try to do what we can to help them, by tracing negligent husbands, by sending food and clothing — and money when all else fails.

The B.A.D. for two years did allow the women to come back during the season on visitors permits, to work on farms that needed them, but one condition was that they should all return home at the end of the season. Last year one or two of them crept back and were found by the B.A.D. and so this year permission has been refused.

We have talked of the amenities provided by the farmers on their farms and we must now mention the District Nursing Service which covers the whole area of Elgin and Grabouw — pioneered initially by farmers wives thirty or more years ago and since taken

over and run by the Divisional Council. We must mention the Ambulance service that takes out-patients into the hospitals in the Peninsula and runs every day; we have a Kupugani depot, which incidentally is so far the largest country depot on Kupugani's books and is run by the farming community; we have a relatively new family planning clinic staffed and run by a farmer's wife who is a doctor in her own right and a trained nursing sister. They hold ten clinics a month round the district and the entire service, pills, injections, etc. are free of charge.

Elgin is served by one dual medium European school from Sub A to Matric, and eight coloured primary schools, the largest of about 1,900 pupils in the village and the others situated on various farms and drawing their pupils from the farms round about. As there is no Coloured secondary school, any likely pupils must make the journey daily to Somerset West to a High School or find weekly lodgings there. A very, very small percentage of children therefore do continue into High School, mainly for economic reasons, their families needing them to supplement the the family income or alternatively being unable to afford the outlay on uniform and transport. Some farmers subsidise candidates for High School by paying the bus fare and something towards the cost of uniforms. What is needed in Elgin is a Coloured High School and this is something that we are trying to provoke the powerful people in Elgin to press for.

All that we have told you must sound like a success story and in many ways it is, but when we tell you that only eleven of us in Elgin belong to the Black Sash out of an original membership of thirty, it will be an indication to you of the deep divisions that exist in our society. We must add here that whenever we ask for contributions of produce for sales or days in the country from non-Sash people, the response is generous. Many farmers feel that they are doing a tremendous amount for their workers well-being and of course they are, but this varies in degree down to the point where some farmers will not see the need for taking their Coloured people into the village to catch the ambulance for town, or they will not see the need for ensuring that children on their farm get to High School in Somerset West. Paternalism, of course, in a rural area is an excellent thing, but often more is needed. Opportunities for social and cultural betterment for the aspiring

ones must be created. So far there are only two such attempts. The first will be found in the attitude of some members of the Anglican Church in Elgin, who, at the cost of deep divisions among the white members of the church, have been determined to prevent the building of two churches (one in the Coloured area) instead of one. One large church for the whole parish is now on the drawing board. The second attempt and the only other point of regular social contact with the aspiring Coloured people, school teachers in the main, is the Monday Club, which meets once a month for supper and some sort of cultural

activity. We now have people from Somerset West making the journey across the mountains to join us. We must tell you that someone outside Elgin was told by someone inside Elgin that they'd heard that the So-and-so's were having drinking parties for Coloured people!

And that is it. We have tried to give you an idea of what we are in Elgin and how we come to be what we are, and can only say in conclusion that we feel the outlook in Elgin is as hopeful as anything can be in the situation in which we all find ourselves under this government — more hopeful of course for some of us than for others.

INDEFINITE DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL. INDEFINITE DETENTION FOR INTERROGATION.

January, 1971	The Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev. G. A. French Beytagh.
February, 1971	Press reports of 22 people detained by the Security Police:— Mr. Kader Hassim; Mr. S. K. Venkethrathnam; Mr. Madoda Njonga; Mr. Leo Sihlali; Mr. Robert Wilcox; Mr. Wilfred Wilcox; Miss Gwendoline Wilcox; and 15 others.
March, 1971	?

HOW MANY PEOPLE ARE LOCKED AWAY WITHOUT TRIAL IN OUR PRISONS?

There is no way of finding out. No one has access to them. Figures are not available. It is "not in the interests of the State" to disclose this information. The laws of our country are circumventing the administration of justice.

SECTION 6 OF THE TERRORISM ACT MUST GO.

Malnutrition

— a talk given by MRS. IDA BIGGS

A member of Natal Midlands Region of Black Sash and a qualified social worker.

Malnutrition wastes the country's resources:

1. It causes premature death.
2. It is the main or one of the prime factors in widespread diseases that are costly to cure.
3. It impairs mental ability.
4. It restricts the output and the potential of the labour force.

In 1966, in the H. F. Verwoerd Hospital,

Pretoria — 9 children died every week from malnutrition, gastro-enteritis and pneumonia. In the Jane Furse Hospital in Sekhukhuniland — 50% of all live births failed to reach the age of five.

In 1966, Dr. S. Meiring Naude, Pres. of C.S.I.R., said "gastro-enteritis remained the biggest single cause of death among children in the under-privileged group, and was closely associated with the protein nutritional status of the patients", 10,000 died of it in that

year. T.B. — about 40 people die every day of this disease (over 14,000 p.a.).

What do we spend as a result of malnutrition?

In 1967 there were 10,830 notified cases of kwashiorkor, of which 9,750 were African.

An average of one month's treatment in hospital is required, at a cost of R143 per patient. On discharge the patient returns to the same conditions that were responsible for the kwashiorkor.

Kwashiorkor can be prevented by the intake of $\frac{1}{2}$ pint of milk a day, at a cost of 80 cents per month.

In 1968 the Social Research Institute of the University of Natal produced a report on Bantu Social Circumstances, in which they estimated that malnutrition cost Natal R10 million over the past ten years.

In 1968 the T.B. incidence rate showed an increase of 1,372 over the figures for 1966. There was a decrease in all races, except the African which showed an increase of 3,096. The total T.B. patients in 1968 was 68,143; and over the past three years around 67,000 new cases have been notified each year. This means that the patients cured are not even holding the position steady, let alone reducing the total number. Cost of T.B. — the State spends R16 million p.a., 42% of the total health vote, on pulmonary T.B.

In addition state grants are made payable to T.B. adults at rate of R5.00 per month, and to children of such adults in urban areas at R1.20 and 75 cents per months per child. In the rural areas no such grant for the family is possible. How can a family stay healthy on such a pittance? The three killer diseases associated with malnutrition — kwashiorkor, T.B. and gastro-enteritis — are virtually unknown in those countries where the general standard of living compares with our standard for the white population.

Impairment of mental ability

For some years considerable research has been carried out in a number of countries, including South Africa, to try and establish what effects, if any, under- and malnutrition has on the mental faculties. It now seems clear and is fairly generally accepted, that kwashiorkor can cause damage to the brain which is irreparable. Research in South Africa and elsewhere has shown that the brain develops most rapidly in the first two years of life, and that therefore especial care

is needed that adequate nutrition is provided during this period.

Even where the physical damage has not been so severe and permanent, lack of proper food causes children at school to be listless, sleepy and dull, unable to benefit from the education that is being offered them. So by the time they leave school they are not properly equipped to cope with the requirements and complexities of an urban industrialised community.

Malnutrition and its effects on industry

Again, there has been a good deal written on this subject, research work and investigations into all aspects. Professor J. Reid, Professor of Pathology, Natal Medical School: "protein deficiency will produce behavioural change usually towards dullness, apathy, poor learning ability, lack of spontaneous activity". Carl Keyter in his book, "Industrial Feeding of African Workers" emphasises the cost to the employer in terms of high accident rates, greater accident-proneness and absenteeism from ill health. After summarising all the evidence, Keyter concludes that "unless industry can play a part in solving the wider problem of malnutrition, it will forever be hampered by a malnourished, inefficient labour force working at a fraction of its true potential".

In 1968 the Department of Agricultural Economics and Marketing reported as follows: 22% of large factories had full feeding schemes; 53% supplied such items as tea, coffee, soup; 25% had nothing at all. The report, made up by an inter-departmental committee, stated that the country's production potential was not fully utilized, because many workers did not receive the necessary nutrients to perform daily tasks efficiently.

Employee feeding schemes introduced in 1960 have led to an increase of more than 75% in productivity and efficiency.

Causes of malnutrition

1. Poverty
2. Ignorance
3. Migratory labour system
4. Social revolution in life of African people.

Only the first two will be dealt with here.

Poverty

First, the question of wages. Although there has been a slight upward trend in some areas and sections of commerce and industry, the

general overall picture still shows a large proportion of families living on or below the poverty datum line. It is difficult to generalise but a rough and ready gauge as to the income required, would be an amount of about R60* per month; this allows nothing for replacements, emergencies, extras of any kind. 1967

— Domestic servants

(African man) cash R10.32; kind R15.04
R25.36

(African woman) cash R10.90; kind R14.91
R25.81

Public Service (excluding S.A.R.) Africans average monthly wage R23.58; many have free food and accommodation.

Mines: Average per month R17.11 with all food.

Private manufacturing: Average wage R46.53.

The cost of living is rising steadily. Unless wages increase at a more rapid rate there is just insufficient for food. The wages earners are the lucky ones. What of the thousands of families who have no regular income?

A survey done three years ago at Edendale in Natal revealed that only 23% of wage-earners earn more than R10 per month; 54% of families have income of under R5 per month. There is appalling poverty on our doorstep.

A look at the rural areas isn't any more reassuring. Recent articles in the Press, giving findings of Professor Reid and Professor Smythe, head of Paediatrics, Natal Medical School, on conditions in the Transkei and Zululand must have shocked all who read them. It seems as though our very system is busy ensuring that future generations will be mentally retarded and physically handicapped indefinitely. Professor Reid:— "mental retardation and poor physical health reduce earning capacity; leads to greater impoverishment, which leads to people unable to help themselves or make an effort to improve their lot."

Ignorance

Let us start with the fact that ignorance exists in the present urban situation, and that the poor live on an unbalanced diet, consisting mainly of refined starch foods of various kinds.

The close relationship of good food and

* This figure is now out of date. The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce has just stated that a family of five living in Soweto would need approximately R73 per month.

good health is not understood, nor are the reasons for a balanced diet and careful preparation and cooking of food.

The importance of education for health cannot be over-emphasised, neither can it be carried out efficiently unless there are trained experienced educators.

There was a time when South Africa was pioneering in this field, and the Health Centre at Polela was, and is, possibly better known outside the Republic than inside. Unhappily, the whole forward and imaginative concept of preventive work was disbanded when the training schemes were closed down, and Polela allowed to die through lack of funds. Health Educators may now be found in industry, promoting condensed milk and Gilbey's gin, doing clerical work in hospitals, etc. The medical men who had made a name for this approach in preventive medicine are now holding important jobs of international status, and the world has gained what South Africa has lost.

The Provincial health authorities are not concerned with preventive measures. The State Health Department is only concerned with educating people about T.B., and in this connection they have recently started a training scheme with particular reference to T.B. But the whole thing seems to have got bogged down, and there is still no health education in Pietermaritzburg.

Feeding habits are one of man's most conservative areas; and people are not going to change because you or I say it would be a good idea to eat differently. Along with the kind of foods to eat goes the right way of preparation, and we must not forget that in the rural areas people also need to be told how to make the best use of the soil, and how to grow fresh vegetables under the most adverse conditions.

I have painted a most gloomy picture — thousands getting sick; thousands with a short life expectancy; thousands dying in childhood; hundreds of thousands working at only a fraction of their full potential.

What a waste of life, resources, money and effort.

But it can be avoided

We have a mass of information, we have a lot of talent, a certain amount of experience; the public is concerned and would support measures introduced by the government; and we have the necessary financial resources.

So, what prevents us from putting an end to the whole miserable business?

First, let us see what is being done:

- 1) Government subsidised skim milk scheme — started about 1964 — available to local Authorities and Bantu authorities, at cost 10c a lb. for distribution to children aged 0-6 who are suffering from malnutrition.

1967-68 — 1½ million lbs. distributed among 145 local authorities and 12 Bantu authorities.

This amount would provide ½ pint of milk for 100,000 children for a year.

The milk is usually given out at a rate of 1 lb. per week, as it is used to cure malnutrition — not prevent it. At this rate, only 30,000 children would benefit. Locally, milk is distributed through the clinics in the city and Edendale, but none in the whole of the Swartkop Territorial Authority.

- 2) Work by non-government bodies. Countless welfare bodies, organised on national or local level. All they can do is to nibble away at the edges; but the sum total of all their endeavours is very considerable. Without them we should be in a much worse plight, and the cost in inefficiency and hospitalisation considerably greater. And yet it is not efficient to deal with a national problem in this piecemeal way.

Most welfare agencies deal with mal- and under nutrition as an incidental to their work; they must, after all, do what they can to keep their clients alive. But there are few agencies that tackle malnutrition per se.

Padmro

Spends about R93,000 per annum on food and feeds around 5,000 children daily. This is real preventive work, but they are hampered by lack of funds, and people who are prepared to help with distribution.

Kupugani

A non-profit limited liability Company, stated in September 1962, with the express purpose of fighting malnutrition wherever it is possible and among all racial groups.

It is a national body with a board of Directors in Johannesburg, but each region is left to do its work as it thinks fit, and there is a considerable degree of autonomy.

What must be done

1. Work towards a time when all children up to the age of two years from the under-privileged groups, get an allocation of skim dried milk through all state clinics.
2. Re-instate the full Health Education training attached to medical schools, integrate them into social-medical schemes of preventative work, and subsidise the salaries of Health Educators, on the same basis as the present state health nurses.
3. Bring back school feeding in all schools, in however simple a form. This is one of the easiest and most efficient ways of building a healthy young generation; and it would go a long way to ensuring that children really benefited from their education.

Nothing that I have suggested is difficult to implement, nor would it break our Treasury. In the long term it would save all the enormous sums we spend on hospitalisation.

John Reid, in talking of the malnutrition problem, says "One has to be extremely short-sighted to accept this gross and easily remedied drag on the performance of people. An employer must recognise his long term interest in putting a stop to it. But, more important is the moral aspect of it. Just as we look back with wonder that economists, good churchmen, public leaders of the past could happily defend slavery and the slave trade, so the people of the future will look back with wonder that we to-day are slothful in dealing with a situation in which people die for lack of food, that we do not rise in a great wave of determination to rid our society of this evil".

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Valerie Polley

Mrs. Valerie Polley and her nine-year-old daughter Janis were killed instantly in a head-on collision in Natal in December. Val's husband, Jimmy, was injured, and their son, Simon, aged seven, received serious head injuries. Simon was on the critical list for a long time, but has now been discharged and is staying with Jimmy's brother and sister-in-law in Durban, although he remains under the surveillance of the neurosurgeon. Jimmy is with him.

Val, née Valerie Wall of Hilary, Natal, met Rev. Jimmy Polley in Natal thirteen years ago. At the time she was modelling with Penny Coelen. They were married two years after. They spent three years in America after Jimmy was awarded a scholarship from the World Council of Churches. They were at Yale and St. Louis, Missouri. While in Grahamstown, Jimmy was working towards the completion of a Ph.D. thesis entitled "A Study of Methodism in South African Society". As well as typing his thesis — and indeed in participating in its growth and its growing pains — Val took on half-day jobs in order to help supplement the family income. She also found unstinting time for the Black Sash. Black Sash committee members in Grahamstown have made the following comments in tribute to Val...

...we first met at typing classes at The Assumption Convent and I was immediately struck by her most attractive and soignée appearance. She looked as if she had stepped out of Vogue. The next time I met her was at our A.G.M. in 1968 when she was elected to the committee. I remember thinking, "How marvellous to have recruited such a young and attractive woman who thinks as we do — surely she will encourage other young members" I learned that she never refused to give a helping hand no matter how occupied she was and not even at short notice. If it hadn't been for Val and her husband, James, and a friend of theirs, we would never have managed the distribution of hundreds of leaflets which were handed out to cinema audiences after the showing of the film "Katrina", in order to point out that legislation and not racial colour 'per se' had caused the human tragedy of the film's story. They worked solidly over a whole weekend composing

and printing the leaflets. Val took over the secretaryship of the Branch when I was chairman — I could not have managed without her loyal and untiring support.

The Black Sash in Grahamstown is often in the individious position of having to organise things without mentioning its own name. Val often used to say, "What's the good of belonging to Black Sash unless one is fearless in speaking out for what one considers right and just?" She influenced me on a number of occasions to take my courage in both hands and not to consider the consequences.

Not the least of one of the many ways in which we shall miss her is as a liaison between the U.C.M. and ourselves. Our Branch will be very much the poorer without Val, but we must trust that in losing her we will be urged to battle on for the cause. Its the very least we will do in her memory.

Constance Pridmore.

...I ached when I thought about her last night — it seemed so wrong to have a meeting without her. She had a way of saying "That's right!" with emphasis on the 'right' and then smiling, and I could hear this all the time.

Val — a warm, vital and concerned person, always lovely to look at. Naturally shy and it wasn't easy for her in the beginning to protest or state her views politically. But she overcame all this in a most remarkable way and became one of the strongest, most convinced and convincing members of the Black Sash in Grahamstown. It will be impossible to fill the gap she has left, but we shall remember her fine example with great affection...

Rosemary Van Wyk Smith.

...For me, Val's two outstanding characteristics were her social conscience and her integrity — which combined with her poise and charm, made her a vital, essential member of our committee...

Molly St. Leger.

...the beginning of my love for her was at a Black Sash meeting over the Basil Moore-Dave Tucker affair. The way she hand-

led it made me convinced she was a natural future chairman of the Black Sash branch. She laughed at me for telling her this but never managed to dissuade me from the belief that, together with beauty, vivacity, and a great sense of life, she was also endowed with a tough-minded integrity which rejected the less painful paths and sought after the good and the true.

Mercia Wilsworth.

... The last time I saw Val we were at the wine-and-cheese party in the Rhodes Great Hall, at the end of the academic year. She was dressed in brown velvet and looked strikingly lovely... it seems strange that I should remember her so clearly, but then Val was a remarkable girl, and her loveliness shone out. I am still shocked that we have lost her.

She had become an important and vitally interested member of our local Black Sash Committee, and had a real contribution to make.

To Jimmy and Simon we extend our deepest sympathy, and we hope they know that this comes from the many friends she and Janis made, and particularly those who worked with Val in this sphere of trying to put right some of the wrongs done to people who have never had a chance in life. She felt strongly about these injustices and was prepared to go a long way to bring about change...

Betty Davenport.

Some time after the tragedy, Jimmy wrote to his friends on behalf of Simon and himself. Among the touching and true things he said were the following.

"... Val and I were involved in a love which was growing deeper each year, a relationship which was developing into full maturity... Some of our friends felt we spent too much time talking to each other, but it turned out to be well worth it because we literally talked ourselves into every corner of each other's lives..."

Over the past five years, a wonderful thing happened. Val gradually discovered something of her own self-worth. It seemed so strange that such a fine and lovely person as her should have had a problem with this, but the process of discovery came and reached a high point during this last year. In the same context, Val became more aware of her total self — and she was at home with herself. She enjoyed her self, her relationships with others, her community and her world. You can imagine what a tremendous source of light, vitality, humour and joy she was to Janis, Simon and myself...

That all this sharing and growth, and so much more, was wrenched out of life and our relationships, at this particular time, seems cruel and senseless. They had so much to give and there was so much more they wanted to give..."

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Conscientious Objection

*A resolution passed with one dissentient at a meeting of the Civil Rights League.
The National Conference of the Black Sash endorsed their resolution.*

"This Conference accepts that every person has a duty to the community in which he lives and that he should serve that community to the best of his ability.

Conference does not, however, believe that the rendering of military service is the only manner of so serving the community and draws attention to the fact that:—

1. The Defence Act of 1957 compels young men to render military service within the Defence Force,
2. Young men who belong to religious bodies which forbid the carrying and use of weapons may be allocated service in paramilitary arms of the Force,
3. This may be in conflict with their religious beliefs, but may also be in conflict with strongly held moral and ethical convictions of persons who do not belong to any religious body.
4. This is a serious invasion of the basic human right of freedom of conscience.

Conference feels that no government should impose duties of such a nature upon its citi-

zens whereby the calls of duty to the community are in conflict with the call of conscience.

Conference therefore calls upon the Government to amend the Defence Act of 1957 so that such persons as do object on strongly held moral, ethical or religious grounds are permitted to render alternative service in fields completely unrelated to the Defence Force.

Conference draws attention to the practice in other countries such as Western Germany, Norway and Britain where such provision is made.

Conference calls upon the Government to encourage:

- a) intensive research to formulate peaceful and constructive forms of national service to be undertaken by the youth of all racial groups; and
- b) public and private experimentation with pilot programmes.

Conference calls upon religious and educational leaders to take the initiative in discussing pilot programmes.

Disqualified

ON 5th AUGUST, 1970, Mr. Blaar Coetzee, the Minister of Community Development, said "What a human being needs for happiness must be found in his environment. He needs fresh air and clean water, space and beauty, the opportunity not only to exercise and rest in quiet surroundings, but for stable social relationships. If any single structure is subversive of these purposes, it is a bad structure..." "People", he said, "must have an environment which gives them a feeling of security and of safety."

On 4th February, 1971, Mr. Blaar Coetzee disclosed in Parliament that more than 110,000 Coloured, Indian and Chinese *families* have been disqualified in terms of the Group Areas Act.

The Department of Community Development is clearly a bad structure, subversive of the purposes laid down by the Minister. If the average family consists of five people, the

Department has deprived over half a million people of their feeling of security and safety.

Mr. Eric Winchester, M.P., has quoted the words of one of the people who have been affected:

"The effect of the Act is that non-Whites know only of the uprooting, and little of re-settling; they know removal and very little renewal, and they see the process as one of deprivation and depletion of community life.

In fact the word "resettlement" is a complete misnomer in the South African experience, since the effect of the Act is to unsettle rather than resettle, to eliminate non-Whites from the cities and to push them to peripheries.

To the White executives and their White foremen, Chatsworth and Kwa Mashu are words, out of which their black workers come by day and to which they safely recede by night." S.D.

Johannesburg Advice Office

The enormous increase in the volume of work which has occurred in the three months prior to the last National Conference has continued. In October 1969 there was a total of 150 interviews and this number increased steadily each month until in November 1970 there were 371 interviews.

In the year October 1968 to September 1969 there was a total of 1,269 cases including those with 1 interview only. From October 1969 to September 1970 the total was 2,050. The total number of interviews for the 12 month period increased from 1,663 to 2,813.

There are several reasons for this increase. We believe that the Bantu Urban Areas Act and the Regulations are being more rigidly enforced in Johannesburg than ever before. There are two specific instances where this has been observed in the Advice Office. One is in the rigidity with which the authorities interpret the word "lawful" in Section 10(1)(b) of the Act. Previously people were allowed to qualify under Section 10(1)(b) if they could prove that they had in fact been in the area for 15 years. Now they must be able to show that they have been "lawfully" in Johannesburg, that is registered in employment or on a residential permit. The other instance is the large number of endorsed out people whose appeals have been disallowed because the Bantu Affairs Commissioner refused even to consider them on the grounds that they were not lodged within seven days. This is a particularly rigid requirement of the law because it is often impossible for a person to collect all the necessary documents within one week.

* * *

Another reason for the increase is the gradual demolishing of Alexandra Township and the old Pimville location. Because houses in these areas are being bulldozed, alternative accommodation is offered to those people who have been living there lawfully, but hundreds of people who have never had their names on a residential permit are being discovered and endorsed out. Many of them have come to the Advice Office for help and we have dealt with large numbers of women who may have been living at the same address for 30 years or more, but who have great difficulty in proving this because they have never worked

and never been registered on house or lodgers permits.

There have also been large numbers of young people who have never attended school because of the poverty of their parents, or their own ill health and whose mothers have been unable to prove rights in the area. So often the only documentary proofs these people can produce are affidavits from neighbours or relatives. Affidavits which are unsupported by other documentary evidence are not readily accepted by officials.

Many of the people coming to the Advice Office this year have been affected by the rigorous regulations under which African residential areas in the Urban areas are governed. There is a chronic shortage of housing in Soweto. One estimate by the Johannesburg City Council during 1970 put the number of people waiting for houses as 13,652. There is also a shortage of 22,000 beds in "bachelor" hostels.

* * *

Many cases present themselves initially as housing problems. There are widows and divorced women who have been given notice to vacate the houses in which they have been living as long as their husbands were the registered tenants. Women are very rarely allowed to take over a house from a male tenant who has died or deserted them and women on their own are not accepted on the waiting list for houses. It does not make any difference if they can pay the rent or how many children they have. Several women have come in to the office saying they have nowhere to live with their children because their husbands have gone to the Superintendent's office to say that they wish to divorce this woman and marry another. They have then been ordered to vacate their houses. Men have come in who have been ordered to vacate their houses because their wives have died or deserted them. The parents of disabled children have great difficulty in finding accommodation even if they have been accepted on to the waiting list for a house, because while they wait they must find lodger's accommodation and people are unwilling to have mentally disturbed, crippled or chronically ill children in the house. This also applies to families with more than two children and to the very old.

Many families have come for advice because they have not been accepted on the waiting list because the male head of the family is registered in terms of Section 10(1)(d) of the Act, and so does not qualify for housing.

Added to all this there are the people who go to apply for a house and are then endorsed out when their position is investigated. This happens to many wives who are deemed to be in the area illegally. Many men find themselves in difficulties because the application is refused on the ground that they do not qualify for family housing. They are convinced that they do qualify under Section 10(1)(a) or (b), but they are shown in the records as being 10(1)(d). It can be a very long and involved process proving that they are indeed qualified under (a) or (b) and frequently they fail because they are unable to produce the necessary proofs.

Throughout the year many cases have again involved the refusal by the authorities to issue reference books to teenagers and to adults who have lost their books and require new ones. In spite of the fact that the law demands that every African carries a reference book from the age of 16, many are turned away when they apply at the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's office.

Due to the intervention of a lawyer, several of these cases have been brought to a successful conclusion with the issue of the reference book. More often the issue of the book is only one step on the way because it is then necessary for the person concerned to get permission to remain in the prescribed area.

There have been several young men whose names were written into their father's house permit and into their mother's reference books. When they turn 16, they have been told by the Superintendent of the township where they live to get a reference book. He has scratched their names from both documents at this stage. Then the issue of a reference book has been refused, or if it is issued, they are promptly endorsed out of the prescribed area. On the face of it these cases should be easily solved because the record of lawful residence is written into official documents but in practice this is not so. The story of S.M. cited below illustrates this.

There have been a number of men released from prison who have come to the office. Very often they have been released on parole on condition that they do not leave employment found for them by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Johannesburg. They are often

unable to get new reference books (the old ones having been removed from them on admission to prison) and seem to be able to get no assistance whatsoever in finding employment and being registered. This applies to men who qualify under Section 10(1)(a), who in law do not lose their rights by being sentenced to more than 6 months in gaol as well as to those who were registered under Section 10(1)(b), who do lose their rights. It is extremely difficult for men to rehabilitate themselves in these circumstances.

* * *

There have been many cases involving foreigners and people who are South Africans but who, through official error, are told to leave the country and obtain passports from the country which is deemed to be their country of origin. There have been many foreign women who may have been living in South Africa for many years who have suddenly been told to go. They may have married South African men and have South African born children. The case of R. H., below, is typical of many people who are told to leave the country because their fathers are foreign. In order to appeal successfully they must be able to prove their birth in South Africa and this is often extremely difficult.

We have seen many displaced people who belong nowhere in South Africa; old people who cannot get residential permits to live with their families and cannot apply for the meagre old-age pension until they are living lawfully somewhere which means that they may be forced to ask for resettlement in the homelands; dozens of women who have been endorsed out and told to leave their husbands; dozens more who are trying to get permission for their children to live with them; people whose troubles have arisen because their employers have failed to comply with the law and then refuse to help them fight an endorsement out; and many many people who have been frustrated by administrative procedures and prejudiced by official mistakes in their reference books or records.

* * *

One of the frustrations which occurs frequently is when women apply for birth certificates for their children in order to help prove their own long residence in the area. The issue of the certificates is refused because the mother's papers are not in order. To break out of this vicious circle is impossible for many people. Birth certificates are needed to prove a woman's rights to remain and will

not be issued until she has established this right.

All these aspects of the pass laws have been discussed in greater detail in the monthly reports of this Advice Office.

* * *

We have been most fortunate this year to have had the assistance of a Johannesburg attorney, whose intervention in many cases has produced a favourable result. Frequently workers in the office are convinced that a legal case exists but that the person concerned has not had a fair hearing from the Department, or that a vital factor has been overlooked by the authorities or that the authorities do not seem to have considered a certain aspect, or that a wrong decision has been made by an official. It has been of inestimable value to the people concerned that a lawyer has taken further action on their behalf. Working with him has taught us a great deal and we have been able to handle cases very much more efficiently because of our increased knowledge of the law and of administrative procedures. His intervention in cases has often enabled people to gain access to officials in the Bantu Affairs Department, and the Municipal Non-European Affairs Department, where they have failed to do so on their own.

This is one of the problems we find insuperable without his assistance. Frequently people taking letters and documents to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's office have been refused admission to the building because "We do not work for the Black Sash here", or because they do not know the room number they want.

* * *

One of the unsatisfactory aspects of the work in the office continues to be our lack of knowledge as to what eventually happens to someone we have been trying to assist. We do ask people to come back to inform us of what happens to them but often they fail to do so. We have no means of telling whether they have been successful or whether they have been arrested or removed to their homelands or have merely returned to their former "unlawful" way of life in the hopes that they will escape the attention of the authorities.

Many people get discouraged at the very beginning when faced with the prospect of spending weeks collecting various documents.

In the last two months we have been trying a new approach to help the many broken families. So many men are refused permission to

have their wives living with them because the women did not enter the area "lawfully" in the first place that we were finding not a day going past without having to tell someone that we were unable to help them because there was no way of getting permission for them to live together. This iniquitous aspect of the irreparable damage done by the Pass Laws has caused concern to the Churches in South Africa and we are now trying to see if an approach to the authorities by the denomination to which the couple belongs may bring some positive results.

It is too early to judge if this will be successful but we feel strongly that it must be persevered with if only for the reason that confrontation with a husband and wife who are separated by the laws can do more to demonstrate the horror of the situation than any number of facts and printed articles.

* * *

Very many people have visited the office to observe the work and Pass Laws in action. 99% have been people on short visits to South Africa, or recently arrived. It is a great pity that more White South Africans do not take the time to come. Advice Office workers find these visits to be of great value. The necessity to explain the law, to answer questions and to face the sheer incredulity of people who have not become accustomed to the enormity of the law in South Africa hammers home afresh all the implications of influx control and the migratory labour system, both for the victims and for White South Africans.

* * *

Every year in this report we try to express the horror and tragedy of life in South Africa and every year we fail. For every one of the people whose stories are told below, there are thousands more. There can be no justification for this.

I. C. M. This child is thirteen years old. She was sent to the Advice Office with a note from the teacher at the Mission school she attends, because she had been told by the Police to get a reference book at once or she would be arrested. She went to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's office in Alexandra township to apply for a reference book and was sent from there to the Municipal Labour office for the Alexandra/Sandton area with a renewed form which said: "Before I deal with this application it is referred to you as arranged so that the applicant may be screened forthwith". At the Municipal Labour Office

the form was completed as follows: "The abovenamed does not qualify to be or remain in the prescribed area of Alexandra or Sandton in terms of paragraph (a), (b), (c) or (d) of subsection 10(1) of Act 25 of 1945. My investigations indicate that his place of birth is unknown".

* * *

C. was, in fact, born in Alexandra and has lived there continually since her birth. Her mother has a letter from a doctor proving her birth in the area but her name does not appear on any residential or lodger's permit. When she came to the Advice Office we were able to reassure her that she is too young to be forced to carry a reference book, but that it was essential that she prove her right to remain in Alexandra and have her name entered on a house permit. On investigation it transpired that her mother A. H., had been endorsed out of Alexandra and has never had permission to live there. Her mother's case is described below. The office is hoping that her mother's right to remain in Alexandra will be recognised, that C. will then be able to be noted on her mother's permit and that when she does turn 16 she will be issued with her reference book with no further trouble and will have her own right to remain in the area in terms of Section 10(1)(a) of the Act recognised by the authorities.

* * *

2. *Mrs. A. H.* is the mother of C. M., whose case is described above. She was born in Alexandra township and has lived there all her life having been away once for a few months in 1957 when she went on a visit to Natal.

In 1959 she was issued with a reference book in Johannesburg, but as usual, was asked where her father was born. He had been born in Swaziland and when her book was issued, Swaziland was shown as her home district. She has never been to Swaziland in her life — not even on a visit — but she did not realise that this wrong information in her new book might have serious repercussions in future.

In 1962 and again in 1970 she was "warned to leave" the area of Alexandra and told she must go to Swaziland. She can produce proof of long residence in Alexandra in the form of doctor's letters and affidavits and a letter from the priest of her Church but it is essential that she find some proof of her birth, because otherwise she is considered to be a foreigner and long residence will not help her

to get permission to remain. Her father and her only brother are both dead and her mother deserted her when she was a very small child and cannot now be traced. The only relative she has is a cousin who does remember the date of her birth because his sister was born on the same day. If the authorities do not accept his sworn affidavit as to her birth there is no other way she can prove that she is in fact a South African citizen. If she has to leave South Africa and go to Swaziland it is doubtful whether her two minor children will be able to live alone in South Africa and they will lose their 10(1)(a) rights in Alexandra and possibly their citizenship.

* * *

3. *Mrs. H. N.*'s case is included because it illustrates many facets of the pass laws, such as the difficulties people may have in getting new reference books, the difficulties of those who have been living in Alexandra or other townships which are cleared of people who are then removed to different prescribed areas and the difficulty involved in trying to obtain a work and residence permit. It shows the absolute necessity of keeping and collecting documents of various kinds.

Mrs. N. lived in Alexandra from 1939 to 1965 when she moved to live with her adult son in Soweto. Her troubles arise because her husband deserted her in 1959 when he was moved with the children to Meadowlands and he put another woman on his housing permit as his wife. After his death their eldest son was given a house of his own and *Mrs. N.* moved to this house but was refused permission to remain there. This son died and the other children were given a lodger's permit but again *Mrs. N.* and her two youngest children, who had remained with her all along, were refused permission to remain. During all this time she was working first as a school teacher, then as a qualified midwife and a doctor's assistant. She worked in Alexandra, Edenvale and Johannesburg — always in the greater Johannesburg area but in different prescribed areas. In 1968 she lost her reference book and was unable to get another one until she took legal advice and, after instituting proceedings in the Supreme Court, she was issued with a book. Then she had to try to get permission to remain in the area. She had no rights in Alexandra because she had moved away but could establish no rights in Johannesburg because her entry into that area had been unlawful. She asked the authorities for permission

to remain on the grounds that she has lived in the greater Johannesburg area for 31 years and that she had always been reliable and gainfully employed, that her children were all born in Alexandra and that it was through no fault of her own that she was not removed to Meadowlands with her family. The following extracts from her affidavit show how important documents were to her and what happened to them during the course of the years:

On 6th October, 1938, I married A. N. in Pietersburg (Marriage Certificate Number attached).

"From 1939 to 1945 I was employed as a teacher at the Alexandra Lutheran school, 3rd Avenue, Alexandra. This school is no longer in existence and I am unable to obtain a letter of proof that I taught there.

"1945 to December, 1949, I taught at a Presbyterian school, 6th Avenue, Alexandra. My reference from this school was given to my next employer — the Bridgeman Memorial Hospital — and the matron retained it. The Bridgeman Memorial Hospital is no longer in existence and I cannot furnish this proof.

"In December, 1950, I started training as a midwife at the Bridgeman Memorial Hospital. In October, 1951, I qualified and obtained my certificate. My certificate was stolen and I applied to the S.A. Nursing Council for a duplicate. They replied that they did not give duplicates but that the receipt of my annual subscription was adequate (Photostat copy attached).

"In 1952 I worked at Baragwanath Hospital as a midwife. A letter of proof of this employment was retained at the offices of the Bantu Resettlement Board, Meadowlands.

"In 1963 my husband died. In 1965 I paid R36.00 to the rental office Meadowlands, being the debt for rent incurred by my husband. This payment is recorded in the files at Meadowlands.

"In 1966 I worked for Dr. David R. until 1968 when he died (Letter from his widow attached).

"I attach the following documents such as I have — the others are with authorities as stated in this affidavit:

1. Marriage Certificate.
2. Nursing Council receipt for 1970.
3. Offer of employment.
4. Letter to registering officer from Superintendent dated 28/1/70.
5. Letter to registering officer from Mr. G. dated 2/7/1968.

6. Notice from Resettlement Board dated 13/3/1965, demanding payment of arrears of rental.

7. Certificate of employment from Mrs. "R".

There are other documents which Mrs. N. should have had, such as birth certificates for all her children. It would also have been helpful if she had kept such things as receipts for hire purchase payments. She is still waiting to hear the result of her appeal.

We have reason to believe that the fact that Mrs. N. instituted proceedings in the Supreme Court for the issue of her reference book has been a factor leading to a relaxation of administrative procedure by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Johannesburg. First and duplicate reference books will be issued to people who apply in Johannesburg without them being required to get a domicile check from a Superintendent of a township in Soweto (that is a certificate that they are residing lawfully there), provided that they can reasonably show they have no other home district.

* * *

5. Mrs. N. M. A. was born during the Boer War and according to her reference book, was granted an old age pension in Randfontein on 17/11/1963. At that time she was permitted to reside in the Westonaria Location.

In November, 1968, by which time she had been widowed, she was ordered to leave her house and says she was told by the Superintendent to go to her only daughter who was working legally in Johannesburg.

Mrs. A. came to Johannesburg as instructed and has been refused a permit to remain in Johannesburg and therefore she cannot get a lodger's permit. Because she is not on any house permit her pension payments were stopped in June, 1969. The authorities have refused to resume payments. Because she left Westonaria in 1968 she has lost her rights there. She is a displaced person. She has now been told to report to the Bantu Commissioner in Randfontein for resettlement.

Once she has been resettled in one of the homelands she can re-apply for her pension but she does not want to be moved to a strange and distant place and is too frightened to go to the Bantu Commissioner's office.

7. The L. Family. J. L. and his wife R. were married by Lobola in 1948 and lived together in a room in Newclare. At that time Mr. L. was working for a certain firm in Johannesburg in terms of Section 10(1)(b) of the Act.

In 1965 Mr. L. was given a house in Meadowlands for himself and his family. By this time there were seven children of the marriage. The three youngest ones were living with their parents at the time when the house was granted to them and their names were entered on the house permit with no difficulty. The names of the four eldest children were not entered on the permit.

A. who is their first born son, was born in the room in Newclare in April, 1949, and lived there with his mother and father until he was seven years old when they sent him to school in Acornhoek in the Eastern Transvaal. He finished his schooling in 1964 and returned to his parents at the beginning of 1965. He was living with them when they were given the house but the Superintendent refused to put his name on the permit because he was just sixteen and was told to get a reference book. His reference book was issued showing his district to be Bushbuckridge which meant that his claim to belong to Johannesburg was not accepted and permission was refused for him to live with his parents.

N. M. and R. were all also born in the room in Newclare in 1951, 1954 and 1957 respectively. N. went to school in the Eastern Transvaal from 1958 to 1969; R. from 1964 to 1969 and M. from 1960 to the present date. All these children were away at school when the house was given to the family so their names were not entered on the permit at the time and ever since then permission has been refused by the Superintendent.

Mrs. L. has been collecting affidavits from the women who assisted her at the birth of her children and who have known the family intimately for many years. She has twice been to the Eastern Transvaal to get papers certifying to the children's years at school. The first time she brought back all the certificates the Superintendent refused to accept them because they were not on the official form and sent her back to get them again. What happened to her when she took them back to the office is described below:

She is still trying to prove that her children are entitled to remain in Johannesburg in terms of Section 10(1)(a) of the Act by virtue of the fact that they were born here and have only been away for purposes of schooling. If this right is not recognised by the authorities they will all be endorsed out because, as their father died in October, 1970,

M. can no longer claim permission in terms of Section 10(1)(c) as the son under 18 of a qualified man and R. cannot claim it as she is no longer the unmarried daughter of a qualified man and A. and N. are now both over the age of 18 and would not have qualified in terms of this section anyway.

* * *

8. Mrs. R. L. Mrs. L. originally came to the Advice Office in connection with the problem of her four elder children, whose cases are described above. She has lived in Johannesburg for many years and had permission to remain in that area in terms of Section 10(1)(c) of the Act. She and her husband lived together in a house in Meadowlands lawfully with the three younger children. She has spent months going from office to office trying to get residence permits for the older ones. On the 17th October, 1970, her husband died and on 10th December, 1970, when she went to the Dube office to hand in the school certificates for the children she was "warned to leave the area of Johannesburg within 72 hours". She is now trying to prove 15 years lawful residence in Johannesburg so that she may have her endorsement out cancelled and be given permission to remain in terms of Section 10(1)(b) or in terms of Section 10(1)(d). If this is not granted, not only will she have to leave her home and Johannesburg, but the three children who are lawfully living with her and who are too young to be left on their own, will lose their 10(1)(a) rights to remain.

* * *

9. Mr. M. M. qualifies in terms of Section 10(1)(a) of the Act to remain in Johannesburg. He and his wife and children lived together in a house in Soweto. His wife died and he was told to marry again or he would lose his house. He took another wife by Bantu Custom, paying lobola to her family. He was given notice to vacate his house shortly after the marriage because he had not produced a marriage certificate.

* * *

10. Mrs. N. M. was living lawfully in a house in Soweto with her husband and 3 children. Her husband left her and divorced her and she was given notice to vacate the house. She had to find lodgings for herself and the 3 children.

* * *

11. Mrs. B. Q. is 56 years old but appears to be much older. She suffers from mental

confusion and lapses of memory. She first came to the Advice Office in August, 1969, because she had a mutilated reference book and had been endorsed out of the prescribed area of Johannesburg. She was refused the issue of a new reference book and was unable to get any help whatsoever from any official. She first came to Johannesburg in about 1920 and lived continually in that city from that date. Because of her mental state it was difficult to collect proofs of her long residence but she was able to trace two of her employers and Baragwanath hospital was able to certify to her treatment there. All these proofs showed that she had been living in Johannesburg for at least 15 years.

She was issued with a Temporary Identification Certificate which was later cancelled and at that stage an attorney took Mrs. Q.'s case up with the authorities. After innumerable letters to officials and innumerable visits to various offices and after notice had been given to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development that Mrs. Q. intended to apply to the Supreme Court for a Declaration of rights and for an order directing the Department to issue her with a new reference book, she was issued with a reference book on 4th June, 1970. She was endorsed out of the prescribed area of Johannesburg immediately, although her Temporary Identification Certificate had been stamped that she had permission to remain in terms of Section 10(1) (d) of the Act. On 8th June, 1970, this permission was re-instated after intervention by her attorney. On 9th June she was again endorsed out and later that day was given a stamp permitting her to remain 'for investigation'. On 12th June, she was finally given permission to remain in terms of Section 10(1) (d).

But her troubles were still not over. She still could not find anywhere to live. She had been living in Pimville which is being demolished and when she went to the Superintendent and asked him for somewhere where she could live he told her she did not qualify for housing and must look for somewhere for herself in Soweto. On several occasions she was threatened with arrest for occupying the house where she had lived for years. On 23rd October, 1970, she was arrested and fined R2.00. Eventually at the beginning of November she was given a lodger's permit and somewhere to live.

12. Mrs. N. N. Z. is married to a man who qualifies to remain in the prescribed area of Johannesburg in terms of Section 10(1)(a) of the Act. There are four children of the marriage who were all born in Johannesburg. Mrs. Z. herself was born in Johannesburg in the old suburb of Sophiatown in 1942 and until 1962 she was living lawfully in the area and had a lodger's permit to reside in her parent's house in Meadowlands. In that year she was ill for some time and failed to pay the monthly fee for the lodger's permit at the Superintendent's office. In December, 1962, her reference book was stamped that she was not permitted to remain in the prescribed area of Johannesburg. Her attempts to have the position rectified were not successful and in October, 1969, she was ordered to leave the area within 72 hours.

At this time she was living 'unlawfully' with her four children in her mother's house and her husband was living in 'bachelor' quarters in a hostel because he did not qualify to have a house for himself and his family because his wife and children were deemed to be unlawfully in Johannesburg. He visited his family on his way home from work in the evenings.

Mrs. Z.'s birth was never registered so she was unable to produce a birth certificate but her mother made an affidavit swearing that she was born in Sophiatown. Mrs. Z. was able to collect very comprehensive documentary proofs of her residence in the area of Johannesburg since the time of her birth. After she had enlisted the aid of an attorney, and after a great deal of time spent at various offices she was eventually given permission to remain in Johannesburg in terms of Section 10(1)(c) of the Act as the wife of a qualified man. This is not satisfactory because the authorities have denied her the right to remain in terms of Section 10(1)(a) because they would not accept the proof of her birth. As a 10(1)(c) she is dependent on the well being of her husband. Should he die or desert her she may well be endorsed out and have to "ask" for resettlement in the homelands as she knows no other home she can go to.

Jean Sinclair.

MRS. SUZMAN WONDERS HOW MR. VORSTER WOULD FEEL IF HE WERE AN AFRICAN FOR A DAY.



Re-Proclamations in Natal

DOREEN PATRICK

This is part of a paper given to National Conference by the Natal Coastal Region of the Black Sash.

The first re-proclamation in Natal came on 12/12/69 when a part of Ladysmith was re-proclaimed White, having been proclaimed Indian in 1966. The area affected includes Forbes Street and part of Lyell Street, and the Indians are to move to the other side of the Klip River, where Indians have lived since 1924 when the Whites moved out because it was a flood area. 1400 people are affected. They were told they would have to move by 26/3/70, but have now been given until the end of 1971. In September, 1970, 56

traders were offered alternative accommodation in Pietermaritzburg or Newcastle, with help in moving, but they were only given 14 days to accept or refuse the offer. They were unable either to find the necessary cash or to sell their businesses so quickly. The people have asked for an extension of time for 5 years.

In 1968, Mr. Blaar Coetzee assured the Ladysmith Indian Group Areas Committee that Forbes Street would remain Indian. In October, 1970, the Natal Daily News reported

that the Ladysmith Town Council and the Ladysmith Chamber of Commerce were against the re-proclamation but that the Afrikanerkring favoured it, and this body felt that it represented the majority of Whites in the affected area.

According to Indians to whom I have spoken, Ladysmith is in the process of being re-planned, and further re-proclamations are very likely.

The Daily News reported that buildings affected by the re-proclamation included a High School where recent additions cost R80,000; a Community Centre costing R100,000 and being built by the Ladysmith Muslim Institute; and a R100,000 block of flats under construction. The loss of the School will be borne by the Government as they have now made themselves responsible for Indian schools.

The next re-proclamation concerned a part of Dannhauser, East of the railway line, and this was gazetted on 1/2/70. The new area is West of the railway, 3 km. from the centre of the town, and 32 hectares in extent where the former area covered 218 hectares. The new one is said to be under-mined by a coal-mine. 120 families are to be moved, and 5 traders who have been in business there for 50 years.

Now we read in the Press that Newcastle may also fall under the hammer of re-proclamation. The areas affected were proclaimed Indian in 1962. 5000 people live and trade in this part, and about 90 business premises would have to be moved. The Municipality is in the progress of building an Indian Civic Centre which has already cost R45,000 and

another R60,000 is due to be paid this year. Other buildings affected are a High School, 2 Primary Schools, a new Industrial School just completed, a Theatre, and several large, expensive private homes.

This re-proclamation is to be considered by the Group Areas Board Committee Meeting on April 20th and 21st. In view of the fact that Ladysmith is being re-planned for new industrial development, it seems very likely that Newcastle is in for the same treatment and that all assurances given by Ministers in the past will be worthless. About 3 year ago, the Indian Council asked the Government to de-proclaim Cato Manor, and re-proclaim it Indian again. Mr. Maree, then Minister of Indian Affairs, confirmed that no Whites had yet moved in, but said that proclamations must have certainty about them, and that therefore Cato Manor could not be de-proclaimed. On 5/2/71 the Press reported that Mr. Waring, Minister of Indian Affairs, and Mr. Loots, Minister of Planning, said that the utmost care was taken in planning and that re-proclamations were only made in exceptional circumstances, and with the utmost circumspection.

"In 1936, Indians owned a third of the properties they occupied. With the laws as they now stand, by the year 1990, it is estimated they will own less than 10%."

*Mr. Eric Winchester, M.P.,
in his report — "The Department of
Community Development — A Call
for Action."*

Regional Reports

Headquarters

The period under review contains largely the same ingredients as previous years in the life of Headquarters Region. The South African scene does not change very much from year to year except in degree, and the role of the Black Sash remains very much the same within this framework. There was the same plethora of restrictive legislation such as the Bantu Law Amendment Bill, the General Law Amendment Bill and the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Bill, of edicts, regu-

lations, ministerial statements, unhappy episodes, but our work this year was made increasingly difficult by the General Election and the Provincial Elections which naturally diverted the energies of many of our workers. However every effort was made to keep all our activities up to date and under control, and there is much to report. We ask your indulgence for the inevitable overlaps on the Transvaal Regional Report, but these are really inevitable when the business of both is conducted by the same people at the same meet-

ings. It is often almost impossible to separate the two.

Mailing list

Following upon a suggestion by Mrs. Stott at last year's conference that our propaganda might be more successful if it was constantly aimed at the same people instead of being diluted by a wide spread, Transvaal Region decided to draw up a mailing list of 5,000 people to whom we would send all our pamphlets, handouts, etc. This was accomplished by wading through "Who's Who", a tedious task, but it has given us a relatively static, captive audience at whom to direct our ideas. I mention this list here because it was mainly at these people that our two big campaigns of the year were directed.

Removals campaign

This campaign was renamed the "H" Campaign after the "H is for Homelands" pamphlet which was drawn up in conjunction with the Citizens' Action Committee in order to highlight conditions in the Homelands and the plight of the people existing there. This pamphlet was circulated to all regions and was so successful that it was reprinted twice. It may not have achieved anything in terms of a termination of the policy or an improvement of conditions but at least there are now many more people who know about them.

Some of these same people also received copies of a pull of the "Star" article on malnutrition and the hand-out on Morsgat.

All regions co-operated fully in the distribution of information and in the rushed campaign to send telegrams to Mr. M. C. Botha refuting his statement that there is no starvation in South Africa, so that although there was no organised national campaign as such it did take on a national character. As the policy of removals is still with us, and is likely to be with us for a long time, there can be no foreseeable end to our campaign, and all regions have continued to concern themselves with removals in their own areas.

Campaign on the plight of the African women

This campaign was instigated by Transvaal Region, but the full and enthusiastic co-operation of all regions converted this, too, into more of a national campaign. The pamphlet, "Who Cares" was distributed to the 5,000 on

the mailing list and to various women's organisations, and has also been widely distributed by all regions. The booklet, "Who Cares", comprising articles previously printed in series on the leader page of the "Star", has been well received and many copies have already been sold. Transvaal Region put up tables in shopping centres and were quite amazed at the response of the public. Other regions might consider following suit.

Further steps in the campaign are to be discussed here at Conference, Transvaal Region is to put forward its ideas on the drawing up of a Charter on the rights of women and the presentation of a plea at the bar of the House.

The rule of law

Transvaal Regional Report contains full details of weekly stands organised to protest about the re-detention of the "22", but here, again, co-operation of all regions made this more a national than a regional campaign. When 19 of the 22 were eventually charged and brought to court the Press was inclined to lay all credit for this on student protest, forgetting the prolonged protest of the Black Sash, but I think we are entitled to some degree of credit for what it is worth, and certainly our continued re-iteration of the value of protest has been vindicated.

Headquarters Region signed the call by the Civil Rights League for the appointment of a Judicial Enquiry into detention and the abrogation of the rule of law, but this was subsequently dropped because the BOSS Commission of Enquiry had been set up and this made the whole subject sub judice.

Section 10 campaign

The expected legislation removing Section 10 rights was not introduced so there has been no Section 10 campaign as such, though the campaign on the rights of African women covers a number of relevant aspects and may well lead in to such a campaign should it become necessary. In the meantime Mrs. Sinclair has completed the updated memorandum on the "Pass Laws" with the assistance of Cape Western Region — an herculean task.

General election

Headquarters felt that the best contribution it could make to General Election was the dissemination of information to the public.

Accordingly the "H is for Homelands" pamphlet was geared to the elections, an

article entitled "We Protest" was sent to the 'Star' and given leader page presentation, and an article on "The State of the Nation" was given prominence in the Rand Daily Mail. Letters were also sent to all United Party members of Parliament about the manner of their approach to the problems of urban Africans and there was correspondence on the subject between our National President, Sir de Villiers Graaff and Mr. Marais Steyn.

Articles and letters

In addition to those already mentioned a statement appeared in the Rand Daily Mail commenting on their article on "Morsgat". The 'Star' published a letter on African taxation. A letter was sent to the Minister of Police on the prison van deaths.

Regional matters

A rather dreaded perusal of all the Regional correspondence files proved to be exceedingly rewarding. Not only was there a considerable interchange of letters between regions and headquarters, but a quite incredible amount of activity was revealed. Headquarters Region is constantly amazed at the amount of excellent work achieved by all regions, large and small, and heartened by the unquenchable enthusiasm displayed despite all obstacles and frustrations. Naturally there were points of disagreement at times — some of which will be discussed here at Conference — but areas of agreement are always far larger than those of disagreement.

This brings me to a recommendation from Headquarters, which we ask you to consider. Correspondence is not the most successful form of contact, and Headquarters feels that it would be most advantageous if one of its representatives, and preferably the National President, were to visit each of the Regions at least once during the year or maybe even twice. This would help to clear up inevitable misunderstandings and to strengthen the very real bonds that already exist between all regions.

Headquarters has noted with interest and gratification the much improved Press coverage that most regions appear to have received from their local newspapers.

Doctoral dissertation

You will remember that Mrs. Michelman from Massachusetts visited us last year in connection with a doctoral dissertation she

was writing on the "Black Sash". A preliminary draft of her study has been received for comment and alteration, and very excellent it is too.

Personnel

As though we were not sufficiently disrupted by the Elections we had also to do without our National President for three months while she was on a well-earned overseas holiday. Only while she is away does one become really aware of the tremendous burden of responsibility which she so cheerfully and effectively gets done. Jean Sinclair is a quite remarkable woman, dedicated body, soul and mind to the Black Sash and what it stands for and a veritable fount of information on everything related to it, which is a broad field indeed. She is possessed of many rare qualities and we are very fortunate to have them at our entire disposal. During her absence and mine, Mrs. Anna Marais gallantly held the fort and Mrs. Bobby Cluver was appointed as an acting National Vice-President. We are most grateful for her always welcome and helpful services, as we are for the magnificent jobs done by our National Secretary, Bobby Johnston and our two National Treasurers, Mrs. Dora Hill and Mrs. Bertha Benashowitz.

Our office staff, Mrs. Markaret Kirk, Mrs. Henrietta Radale and Mrs. Mabel Makgabut-



lane have, as usual, responded graciously and willingly to the sometimes overwhelming demands made upon them, and we record our deep appreciation not only of all their hard work but of the charming manner with which they cope with all our varying and difficult temperaments.

Lastly we thank all of you — all the Regions — for keeping us informed of all your activities, for responding so generously to all requests and suggestions from Headquarters and for fighting so staunchly for the principles of the Black Sash.

JOYCE HARRIS.

Cape Eastern

There have been 6 committee meetings, including one in Grahamstown where it was decided to divide the Region into two autonomous areas for administrative reasons. A resolution to this effect will be considered at conference.

Regional meeting was attended by representatives from Addo, Alexandria, Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth. Talk on "The Effects of the Physical Planning Act on Industry".

Telegram campaign at the request of headquarters Region telegrams were sent to Minister of Bantu Affairs refuting his statement on starving Africans. An open letter to Mr. Botha was published in the evening paper.

Stand held in Market Square on detention of 22.

Education

During 1970, from a fund started in 1968, 6 African students were helped at High school and Teachers course. This assistance amounted to R168.00. Unfortunately one girl who obtained her Higher Primary Teachers' Certificate, has not yet been able to find a teaching post in Port Elizabeth.

Workmen's Compensation

We continue to study the relevant Government Gazettes and notify employers of money outstanding for injured workmen. This has been appreciated in some cases, but frequently the workman has disappeared. Our request to the Chambers of Commerce and Industry to keep fuller records of employee particulars does not seem to be having effect.

Banished

There are still banished men in our area, three of whom were sent parcels and money at Christmas.

Who cares

The region paid for a copy for each paid up member. No pamphlets were received from Headquarters.

Magazine

15 copies distributed of each issue and handed personally to Editors of two English language newspapers. Newsletters, including extracts National President's letters, have been sent to members.

Natal Coastal

Miss Conyngham, one of our foundation members, died at the age of 96. Up until a couple of years ago she attended meetings and stands regularly.

Mrs. Jessie Hertslet also died this year. Although well-known in our region, she was very active in the Cape, and she was a regular contributor to Sash magazine.

Mrs. Cheadle, also a foundation member, passed away in April.

Human rights

Each month members contribute R10 towards assisting the banished. Through the generosity of members we have not had to use our precious funds. Also, of course, this does serve to remind us that there are banished people in our country.

Advice office

After a year of stopping and starting, I think that the Advice Office will now operate regularly. We owe a special word of thanks to the Institute of Race Relations for letting us use one of their offices each week; and subsequent to a press statement in ILANGA LASE NATAL there have been more cases coming regularly.

Publicity

This year has seen keen interest in the Black Sash in Natal and in our own local activities. The editorials in the last two copies of the Magazine were reviewed in the Press. Statements by our region have also been printed in the local newspapers. Seven letters on behalf of the region have been written about the homelands and about section six of the

Terrorism Act. Letters from members have also appeared in the Press.

H for Homelands pamphlets

Members distributed 600 copies of this pamphlet. We all felt that it was extremely well produced and it was very well received here. This type of publicity is good for the image of Sash because it shows a positive concern for people.

Natal Natters

After the 1969 Conference in Pietermaritzburg our Region was asked to produce in one form or another the ideas that Natal Coastal had submitted to the Conference. Thanks to hard work by Wendy Jackson, Natal Natters was launched in August, 1970. Its value has still to be tested as we are awaiting the reactions of other regions. It is difficult at this stage to give a critical assessment. Our own region, I think, generally favours the magazine as it does keep all members informed of regional activities.

Stands

Our February meeting was devoted to the policy and principle of stands. After much discussion it was agreed that for a stand to be effective, it should be well supported. Our first stand of the year was to mark our 15th anniversary. I am pleased to say that 22 members stood.

Section 6 of the Terrorism Act and its iniquities were highlighted again too vividly with the detention, trial, re-arrest and re-trial of the 22 detainees. As we all know, these 22 detainees are not the only people held under this arbitrary law, but as these people's plight was published we were duty bound to protest against the implementation of this law. To try and get our protest effectively over to the public we decided to have four people each week standing next to robots, one on each corner of a busy intersection in Durban's shopping centre. Although a strain on nerves, our object was achieved, as the public could not help but comment. These comments varied considerably from "Drop Dead" to "We are with you." If only the general public did show more interest we would indeed be in a different state of affairs. After maintaining this form of stand for ten weeks it was suspended.

African removals

Although we have not visited so many areas, due partially to the fact that we are not allowed permits, our interest and concern

is still there. Weenen and Georedale are two main areas. The land-tenant system has been abolished and this is causing considerable hardship. Contact is maintained for information with the churches, members of parliament and the newspapers.

Indian removals

The uprooting of Indian communities is of vital concern to us. The cultural, religious and economic disruption of family life is very serious. Sociologists tell us that formerly unknown things such as divorce, drugs, drink and suicide are all too common in their society now.

Youth groups

Our school discussion groups continue to flourish. Particular interest was shown when the youth leaders of three political parties in Natal addressed the boys and girls from standard 8, 9, and 10. Lively discussion ensued at all these meetings.

The highlight this year is for twenty boys and girls to be entertained in the home of one of our well-known Indian families.

An additional undertaking this year was to follow the lead of Natal Midlands and have a school study tour to places of interest in and around Durban. During the July holidays 27 boys and girls from four schools took part in an organised tour from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. on two consecutive days. This type of tour is a must for the future as it is valuable not only to the students but also to the drivers.

15th Anniversary

Sash marked the fifteenth year of the total disregard of the democratic rights of individuals in this country. Since our tenth anniversary such things as the General Law Amendment Act have been amended and enforced even more stringently. The sweeping powers of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act and the Bantu Law Amendment Act have also been applied. Mass removals of vast numbers of people for re-settlement, whose only crime is that their skin is the wrong hue, make us hang our heads in shame. Dr. Alan Paton spoke at our anniversary meeting, and 22 members took part in a protest stand. The lighter side was a buffet supper for 90 people when we were honoured to welcome Archbishop Denis Hurley, Dr. Edgar Brookes and Dr. Alan Paton as our guests.

Speakers

This year brought many notable people to Natal and we have been lucky to have some of them at our meetings. Among these have been Sir Robert Birley, the Rev. Beyers Naude and Dr. Alan Paton. A very refreshing talk at our July meeting was given by the immediate past chairman, Mr. Bobby Godsell, and the chairman, Mr. Alan Graham, of the Young Progressives.

Natal Citizens Association

Three of our members serve on this committee.

Conclusion

This has not been a very profitable year for the Black Sash in this Region, partly I feel because the general and provincial elections have taken up so much time. Nevertheless contact has been maintained and protest made by us whenever possible.

Much discussion has taken place during our meetings and this is always stimulating.

No organisation can be effective without an efficient committee, and I should like to say thank you to them for their support and loyalty, for without them the chairman is useless. Last but by no means least a special thank you to my secretary Anne Colvin. The secretary's lot is a hard one but if domestic difficulties arise it is even harder. Ann has faced her difficulties and has also supported me, for which I am truly grateful.

Doreen Patrick.

Border

Talks

Mr. John Coates: "The Law that Rules the World" (Tape).

Rev. Robertson: "The End of North End".

Sir Robert Birley: "Address to Civil Rights League, Cape Town" (Tape).

Literature to members

All Circulars, President's letters, Advice Office Reports, reach every member by round-robin method.

Demonstration

May 11, 1970. Seven stood during lunch hour with posters protesting at redetainment of the 22.

Telegram campaign

Members wired Mr. M. C. Botha protesting at untrue statement that there are no starving Africans in South Africa.

Who cares pamphlet

300 distributed.

Athol Fugard petition

Members helped with obtaining signatures.

Press publicity

Good coverage of all National protests.

Contacts across the colour line

Monthly evening gatherings are held.

Sada

Members help the Sewing School to sell the dresses they make.

Mount Coke transit camp

Collection of cash, food, jumble for Christmas distribution.

General and provincial elections

Members helped actively in these elections.

Grahamstown

We were very shocked and saddened by the death in a road accident of Mrs. Val Polley just before Christmas. She had been a member of this branch for about 4 years and an active committee member for much of this time. The gap she leaves will not easily be filled.

Meetings

During the early months of the year the branch went into recess so that members could give their time and energy to the Parliamentary campaign if they wished.

Two excellent meetings followed:— Father D. Russel from King Williamstown and Father C. Desmond both spoke on Resettlement Camps. In September we organized a symposium on 'Protest' and held this at the university under the auspices of a student society. By combining with another body we hope to reach a wider public for these meetings.

We had a successful meeting with the Port Elizabeth committee, and here decided to send a resolution to conference requesting that the two branches become independent and autonomous. Needless to say, we would continue to have as much liaison with each other as possible.

Our last meeting included a talk by one of our committee members — Gillian Hart — on the Transkei. She is presently engaged on a Master's thesis on African Enterprise and her talk was most informative.

Fingo Village

The Extension of the Group Areas Act to Grahamstown (in April) by which the Fingo Village becomes an area for Coloureds has involved us in a great deal of work this year. In this area Africans have freehold tenure which dates back to the 1850's when Queen Victoria gave it to the Fingo's for their part they played in defending the British settlers. Some 4,000 people are likely to be "resettled" across the Fish River in a desolate area some 20 miles from the city, and their only source of livelihood. Naturally this will create innumerable problems and is sure to cause distress. We may find that it is necessary to set up an Advice office this year, and have sought advice from many quarters on how we should set about this.

We helped organise a Petition against this proclamation, and manned tables for two weeks in September. The Petition (with about 1800 names) was handed to the Fingo Vigilance Committee and subsequently sent to Ministers Loots and Koornhoff. We await further developments. We also circulated a fact sheet/pamphlet on the subject.

School books

We now support four pupils at the local African High School. In addition we raised R120 at a successful coffee morning and of this R50 has been given to a local fund which helps to finance African children at both the local and nearby boarding schools. In this area, where there is so much unemployment and wages are so low, this is one of our priorities.

Despite the fact that we are a small branch (and many of our key members will be away this year, and others are leaving) we hope to keep going, and show that there are still some whose values are unchanged.

B. Davenport.

Cape Western

Like the Principal's speech at any School Prizegiving, the regional Report of the Cape Western Division of the Black Sash has perforce an air of sameness with its lists of

stands, lectures, letters to the press and so on. When we consider these achievements, should we feel smug that so much has been done, or humble in our inability to do more? Are we destructive too often when we might be constructive?

If this striving, to be honest with ourselves, becomes too depressing, we can take comfort from the fact that this year has seen some slight change in our public image:— the "Cape Times" had a most heartening leader on our 15th birthday as well as an article on the Sash. It may be worth quoting an extract from the leader:

"From Emily Hobhouse to Margaret Balingier and beyond, South African public causes have been bravely served by women who have infused the feminine quality of compassion into exceptional qualities of energy and intelligence. The result of this blending has always been the generation of a powerful force for good. The Black Sash which is now celebrating its 15th anniversary, can justly claim to have made a large corporate addition to these and other individual contributions."

As if this was not enough, Sir Robert Birley, at the supper party given in his honour by some of the Sash officials, was most generous in his praise of our movement which he considered will yet play a far more important part in South Africa's future.

Nearer home, are we too optimistic in supposing that local officials are treating us, in our Advice Office dealings with them, with more understanding of what we are trying to do?

All branches

There have been some extremely good talks at these meetings:

Mrs. Beck on "The Past Parliamentary Session" and "The Re-Detention of the 22".

Rev. T. F. Kine: "Paarl and Group Areas".
Professor Hansie Pollak: "The Indian question in Natal".

Mrs. H. Solomon: "Social work in London".
Mrs. Marcelle Kooy: "The Economic Aspects of Apartheid".

Mrs. Elizabeth Taylor: "Changing Political Attitudes in the Pacific Islands".

Mr. David Currie: "What the Coloured people want".

A number of interesting talks have also been given at Branch meetings. Our general activities have ranged from attempts to arouse

interest in what has been happening in Ceres since the earthquake, to initiating protest against the removal of the Coloured Municipal Vote. Mrs. Robb's letter to the "Cape Argus" was followed up by a number of prominent citizens who have asked the Mayor of Cape Town to call a Public Meeting. It is hoped that this will be done after the impending Provincial election.

The "H" pamphlet compiled by Headquarters has been widely distributed. Many of our members have bought and publicised the recently published book by Father Desmond entitled "The Discarded People". A suggestion has been approved that this should be followed up by informal discussion meetings in the homes of members.

500 copies of Mrs. Wilks' satires "Alice in Colourland" and "Alice in Onsland" were printed with the help of Mr. Burton. These are being sold to the public as well as to members. Mrs. Parker's sketches have added to the cleverness of the attack on the absurdities inherent in our "South African way of life".

A decision has been taken, with the co-operation of the Buitenkant Street Methodist Church, to put up a plaque on the outside wall of the church as a memorial to the Coloured people who have been removed from the area owing to the Group Areas Act.

It is hoped that in the future our Educational Meetings will be resumed and that there will be more talks to the Women's Associations of various churches.

With two offices in Rosco Buildings, Claremont, we are now able to hold our Regional Council meetings in close proximity to the office of our Secretary, with great advantage to all.

Talks

- a) Mrs. Herbstein on a visit to a Re-settlement Camp on 1 5th October to the Institute of Citizenship.
- b) Mrs. Robb to the Progressive Youth Conference on the African in South African Society. This also appeared in the "Rhodeo" magazine.
- c) Short report by Mrs. Robb on 20th October on "Athlone Advice Office" to the Institute of Race Relations.

Stands

Against the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill. "Re-detention of the 22".

On Family Day (on the steps of St. George's Cathedral and on Cathedral property).

"Banning of the 19".

On Christmas Eve on the break-up of family life.

Letters to the Press

Better pay for non-white nurses.

A sub-committee was formed to write letters to the Press on:

Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.

Bantu Taxation.

Re-arrests under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Hertzog Square, Bloemfontein. (Out of bounds for Coloured people).

Bantu Homelands Citizenship Bill.

Gary Player's Press statement.

Proposals re Alexandra Township (proposed hostels for so-called bachelors).

On the first Government notice under the new Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.

Discrimination against Coloured Nurses.

"The Alphabet" appeared as a letter to the "Cape Times".

Statement on the "22" appeared as a letter in both the "Cape Times" and the "Argus".

Statement on "Protest" by Mrs. Robb appeared in the Argus.

Letter on "Family Day".

A portion of our Athlone Advice Office report and a case were quoted in the N.U.S.A.S. magazine.

"Varsity" reproduced Mrs. Robb's talk on the effects of Migratory Labour and the Pass Laws under the title "A Tangle of Barbed Laws".

Mrs. Herbstein's article on "A visit to the Re-settlement Camp — Dimbaza" appeared on the front page of the "Cape Times".

R. N. Robb.

Natal Midlands

There have been eight general meetings during 1970, and nine executive meetings. The following speakers have addressed the Branch.

- a) Mrs. I. A. Biggs read a paper on "The Social Results of Removals".
- b) Mr. Brian Stuart on "Election Prospects".
- c) Mr. Colin Gardner on "Cancellation of 1970 Cricket Tour".
- d) Professor Macquarrie on "South Africa's Public Holidays".

- e) Mr. Leslie Weinberg on "Capital Punishment".
- f) Mr. R. Ellis on "The World Council of Churches".

A member of N.C.W. also reported on the new B.A.D. regulations for African scholars' bursaries.

Bring and Buy Sales were held at the general meetings at which there was no guest speaker.

School tours

These are organised by Sash under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations. Two are held each year, one in July and one in December. They last for two days and scholars are shown welfare projects for all races. The aim of the tours is to show the great need that exists and the inadequacy of what is done, compared with that need. It is hoped that the need for political remedies instead of welfare ones becomes obvious. The scholars are keenly interested.

Napac

The Chairman wrote to the Director of Napac enquiring about performances for non-whites. In his reply the Director pointed out that the act establishing the Performing Arts Councils for the four provinces specifically stated that these councils were designed for the fostering of the arts among Whites and there was therefore no onus on them to cater for Non-whites. A letter was sent to the City Council pointing this out and querying their grant to Napac. Letters were written also to the Sash in Johannesburg and Cape Town asking for information on this point about Pact and Capab. From newspaper publicity it was obvious that the City Council of Pietermaritzburg did not know of this racial restriction. They referred the Sash letter to the Provincial Administration who confirmed the Director of Napac's letter and pointed out that the Departments of Bantu, Coloured and Indian Affairs could form their own Performing Arts Council. The Region decided to write to these departments and suggested that if they were unable to form such Councils they should appeal to Napac to cater also for non-whites. The Pietermaritzburg City Council does pay its Napac grant from the rates of white citizens only, though we have no information about Provincial and Government grants. Recent events in connection with the Nico Malan Theatre Centre in Cape Town give the impression that there is some public

concern about the cultural starvation for non-whites.

Swartkop location

It is extremely difficult to get information about this location which lies very close to Pietermaritzburg. Our investigation made it clear that there is a great deal of malnutrition and that two urgent needs are an all-weather through-road from Sweetwaters Road to Edendale and a permanent safe water supply. It is hoped to get newspaper publicity for this forgotten suburb of Pietermaritzburg in 1971.

Education booklet

Progress with this project is slow. It is intended to continue seeking information and decide whether or not to publish a booklet when the information is assessed.

Telegram campaign

Telegrams were sent from this region at the request of the National President to the Minister of Bantu Administration protesting against his statement that there are no starving Africans in South Africa.

Multi-racial teaparties

These are held regularly each month and are convened by different members under the direction of Mrs. Strauss. There is a warm feeling of friendship among those who attend and more of the Sash members are now becoming involved. It is intended to enlarge the group in 1971. At the present there are about seventeen regular visitors.

Demonstrations

- April 18th: Pre-election stand.
- May 16th: Detention without Trial of 19 Africans.
- July 10th: Family Day Stand.
- October 7th: Stand against bannings of 19 acquitted Africans.
- December 10th: Human Right's Day Stand.

Literature

Regular reports to members have been distributed every three months. Letters from the National President have been duplicated and sent to members. The following pamphlets or articles have also been distributed to members.

1. H. for Homelands.
2. Mr. Joel Carlson's speech to English Universities.
3. Inter-Church Aid Pamphlet.
4. Mrs. I. A. Bigg's talk on Malnutrition.

5. Who Cares Pamphlet.
6. Who Cares Booklet.
7. Edgar Brooke's Memorial Lecture by Mr. J. Carlson.

Marie Dyer.

Transvaal

The year's work has been dominated by two major items; the case of the 22 and, subsequently, the 19 detainees, and the campaign on publicising the difficulties of African women. Although the facts about the detainees are well known to everyone in South Africa, it is necessary to place on record that of the many people arrested under the Terrorism Act in May/June, 1969, after 5½ months of detention in solitary confinement for the purpose of interrogation, 22 people were brought to trial in October, 1969. In February, 1970, they were acquitted and whilst still in Court were immediately re-detained under the Terrorism Act and again held in Solitary confinement. Three of these detainees were subsequently released, one of whom had spent the weeks prior to his release in a mental home. The other 19 were again brought to trial and joined with another detainee whom, it was disclosed, had been held under the Terrorism Act for nearly 2 years. In September, 1970, the 19 were acquitted and were this time allowed to go free. Shortly after their acquittal all of them were banned and two placed under house arrest. The only new trialist, a man who had been held for nearly two years, was convicted and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.

Throughout the period of re-detention after the first acquittal, we held weekly all-day stands to highlight the injustice meted out to these people, and it was these weekly stands and our accompanying publicity which spear-headed the massive and successful protests held by students and others. These activities of ours proved quite conclusively how effective protest is, especially when based on accurate information and well-founded facts.

The other main item of work undertaken by the Transvaal was the planning of a campaign to bring to the attention of the public, particularly to women and women's organisations, the desperate plight of African women in South Africa. A separate report on this campaign will be given during Conference. It is sufficient to say here that the information gathered over the past years and the rapidly increasing number of cases dealt

with in our Advice Office made us decide to publicise these facts as widely as possible.

Although a great deal of time has been spent on these two important pieces of work, it will be seen from the following summary that our more routine activities have not been neglected.

Publicity

(a) Letters:

- 1) Leader of United Party and to United Party M.P's, urging them not to use the number of Africans in towns as part of their electioneering propaganda as this generally led to harsher enforcement of restrictive laws applied to Africans.
- 2) Minister of Police on his refusal to disclose findings of Commission of Enquiry into the Prison van deaths.
- 3) Head of Security Police on the unwelcome attentions of Security Police at our demonstrations.

(b) Letters to Press:

- 1) Election date coinciding with Pass-over.
- 2) Packing of Coloured Council.
- 3) Conditions at Morogat.
- 4) African Taxation.
- 5) Botha's statement on migrant labour.
- 6) Refusal of Passports to people wishing to attend a multi-racial soccer match in Swaziland.
- 7) Consulting rooms for professional men in townships.
- 8) Aid Centres.
- 9) Further proposed tax on Africans for development of homelands.
- 10) Bulldozing of African homes in Randburg.
- 11) Reply to letter attacking Mr. Rowan's impressions of Soweto.
- 12) To Financial Mail in reply to leader on Wages.
- 13) Banning of Roley Arenstein and of people for possible future activities.
- 14) Use of term "non-White".
- 15) Re Tembisa police station.
- 16) Secretary of Bantu Education on lack of high schools in Soweto.

(c) Statements to Press:

- 1) Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.
- 2) Mine Wages.
- 3) Re-detention of 22 after acquittal.
- 4) Support of Students' Protest March.

- 5) New Bill on Magistrate's permission for marches.

(d) *Articles for Press:*

- 1) February 10th "STAR" — "What is Apartheid?"
- 2) February 14th "R.D.M." — "Story of an African Family."
- 3) February 19th "STAR" — "We Protest".
- 4) March 23rd "R.D.M." — "Prohibition of visitors to domestic servants after 10."
- 5) April 7th "R.D.M." — "Is it Aye or Nay to all this."
- 6) — 12. Series of Articles in "STAR" starting with hostels and then dealing with difficulties of African women.

In general, our press publicity has been good and we are asked for statements on policy announcements and decisions of the Government when they are made public.

(e) *Pamphlets:*

- 1) "H" is for Homelands.
- 2) Distribution of "STAR" pulls on articles on malnutrition.
- 3) "Who Cares?"
- 4) Booklet "Who Cares?", i.e. collection of abovementioned articles in "STAR".

(f) *Memoranda:*

- 1) City Council, re restrictions placed on holding of demonstrations. Following this memorandum, a deputation was received by the Council.

(g) *Handouts for all Demonstrations.*

**Draft charter for African women
Advice office**

A separate report will be given for this most important aspect of our work.

Demonstrations

- 1) November, 1969 — Resettlement and Starvation.
- 2) Feb./May, 1970 — Every Monday 7 a.m. — 6 p.m. — Re-detention of 22.
- 3) April, 1970 — State of Nation — pre-election.
- 4) July, 1970 — Family Day.

General meetings

- 1) June — Nadine Gordimer on Black Sash.
- 2) August — Frans Auerbach on "Education and the Public."

Saturday Clubs

This Club, which is a multiracial group of women meeting monthly, functioned well during the year. Lectures were held on education, prejudice, birth control and journalism. A number of socials were held, the last one being the annual Christmas meeting which was attended by 70 people.

Branches and Contact System

Although the Transvaal region has not functioned through branches for many years, the Waverley group in Johannesburg continues to give magnificent support to the Region. The Rustenburg branch is still in existence and members are keenly interested in our activities. We only managed to pay one visit to Rustenburg during the year and efforts must be made to do this more often in the coming year.

The Contact System has been updated and is working well. Most Johannesburg members are kept in touch with activities by telephone and all members in the Region receive regular newsletters.

Fifteenth Birthday Party

Our 15th Birthday was celebrated with a lunch party at the home of our National President and the "STAR", "R.D.M." and "POST" all gave us excellent write-ups.

It is indeed an achievement that we not only have remained in existence all these years, but we have gained immensely in stature and importance.

As I see it, the difficulty in gaining in stature and importance is that the volume of work which has to be done increases proportionately. It will be an urgent task in the coming year to see that more members become really active. It is very necessary that this question be discussed at Conference and that new ways be evolved out of the subsequent exchange of ideas.

There are many ways of pursuing policies which we have not fully explored, particularly in the field of inter-racial contact. If we are to continue our existing work and really develop some of these new ideas, we shall need a great deal of vigorous and committed action. I am sure we are equal to the task.

JEANETTE CARLSON.

BLACK SASH OFFICE BEARERS

HEADQUARTERS

National President: Mrs. J. Sinclair, 4a—2nd Avenue, Parktown North, Johannesburg. Tel 42-4649.

National Vice-Presidents: Mrs. A. Mairais, 22, Kerry Road, Parkview. Tel. 41-2647.

Mrs. J. Harris, 29—5th Street, Lower Houghton. Tel. 728-2712.

Hon. National Secretary: Mrs. R. M. Johnston, 37, Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg.

Tel. Office 23-1032. Home 40-1973.

National Treasurer: Mrs. D. Hill. Tel. 41-1832. Mrs. Beinashowitz, 37, Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg.

Magazine Editor: Mrs. S. Duncan, 45—22nd Street, Parkhurst, Johannesburg. Tel. 42-9713.

Office: 37, Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg. Tel. 23-1032.

BORDER

Chairman/Secretary: Mrs. D. Streek, 22, Turnberry Avenue, East London. Tel. 87852.

Treasurer: Mrs. B. Sparg, 33 Elizabeth Court, Inverleith Terrace, East London. Tel. 25879.

CAPE EASTERN

Secretary: Mrs. D. Davis, 196, Main Rd., Walmer, Port Elizabeth.

Treasurer: Mrs. A. Bolton, 19, Linton Road, Mill Park, Port Elizabeth. Tel. 36064.

GRAHAMSTOWN BRANCH:

Chairman: Mrs. B. Davenport, 2, Harri-smith Street, Grahamstown. Tel. 2774.

Secretary: Mrs. R. van Wyk Smith, 24, Market Street, Grahamstown. Tel. 3076.

CAPE WESTERN

Chairman: Mrs. B. Wilkes, Nunsacre, Capri Road, St. James, C.P.

Secretary: Mrs. M. D. Barker, "Cambria", Woodbine Lane, Rondebosch, C.P.

Treasurer: Mrs. J. Morris, 37a Albion Hill, Main Road, Newlands, C.P.

Office: (for correspondence): 109 Rosco Building, 105, Main Road, Claremont, Cape. Tel. 66-827.

NATAL COASTAL

Chairman: Mrs. D. Patrick, Two Oaks, 31, Hospital Road, Hillcrest, Natal. Tel. 7-8421.

Secretary: Mrs. L. Mathews, 21, Alexander Drive, Winston Park, Natal.

Treasurer: Mrs. E. Langley, 11 High-bury Court, Ridge Road, Durban, Natal. Tel. 88-1068.

NATAL MIDLANDS

Chairman: Mrs. M. Dyer, 8, Christie Road, Pietermaritzburg.

Secretary: Mrs. M. Corrigan, 306, Alexandra Road, Pietermaritzburg. Tel. 23749.

Treasurer: Mrs. Phoebe Brown, P.O. Box 71, Hilton, Natal.

TRANSVAAL

Chairman: Mrs. J. Carlson, 13, African Street, Oaklands, Johannesburg. Tel. 728-1492.

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. R. M. Johnston, 37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg. Tel. Office 23-1032. Home 40-1973.

Treasurer: Mrs. L. Brand, 3—7th Avenue, Parktown North, Johannesburg. Tel. 42-3639.

Office: 37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg. Telephone 23-1032.

This Magazine, as the official organ of the Black Sash, carries authoritative articles on the activities of the Black Sash. The leading articles adhere broadly to the policies of the organization, which does not, however, necessarily endorse the opinions expressed by the contributors.

All political comment in this issue, except when otherwise stated, by A. Cobbett, of 37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg.

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Dedication . . .

IN pride and humbleness we declare our devotion to the land of South Africa, we dedicate ourselves to the service of our country. We pledge ourselves to uphold the ideals of mutual trust and forbearance, of sanctity of word, of courage for the future, and of peace and justice for all persons and peoples. We pledge ourselves to resist any diminishment of these, confident that this duty is required of us, and that history and our children will defend us.

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

Toewydingsrede . . .

MET trots en nederigheid verklaar ons ons gehegtheid aan die land van Suid-Afrika, ons wy ons aan die diens van ons land. Ons belowe plegtig die ideale te handhaaf van onderlinge vertrouwe en verdraagsaamheid, van die onskendbaarheid van beloftes, van moed vir die toekoms, van vrede en regverdigheid teenoor alle persone en rasse. Ons beloof plegtig om ons te verset teen enige vermindering hiervan, oortuig dat hierdie plig ons opgelê is en dat die geskiedenis en ons kinders ons sal regverdig.

Mag God ons help, op Wie se krag ons ons verlaat.